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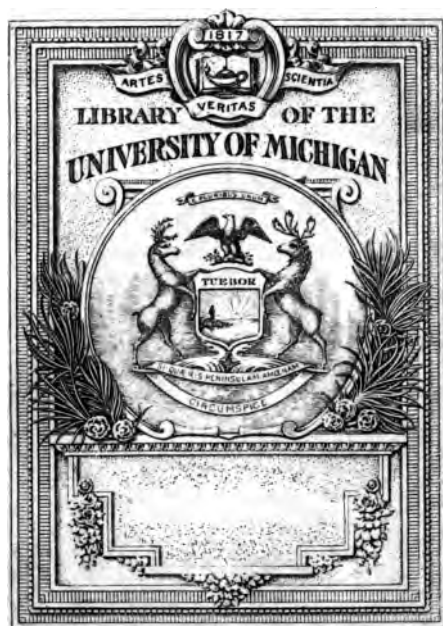
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## **INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES IN ST. LOUIS**

BY

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General Secretary of the Board of Social Welfare, St. Joseph, Mo.*

**St. Louis, Mo.**

1914



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To  
E. M. H. and F. E. A.  
Noble Brothers  
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## P R E F A C E

About two years ago the Committee on Social Service among the colored people, came to the conclusion that a thorough investigation of the industrial situation of their race in St. Louis was the first step in a constructive program of local race betterment. After an unsuccessful attempt on their own part, they appealed to the School of Social Economy. The result of a conference was to turn the question over to the author as a subject for investigation. However, this work has not been undertaken merely for purposes of research, but that it might be of practical value to the colored race here in St. Louis. This purpose has always been foremost in the mind of the author.

Great thanks and credit are due to the Social Service League among the colored people, especially its officers during the past two years, and to hundreds of colored men and women in every station in life. The author wishes to thank Dr. Geo. B. Mangold, and research students who at various times aided the author. The greatest debt of thanks, which the author sincerely acknowledges, is to Dr. Chas. E. Persons, Associate Director. He has given invaluable help, wise counsel, and continued inspiration, without which the work would hardly have been completed. If any errors appear, as undoubtedly there will, let the reader remember that this is the author's maiden effort in the field of research. It is the earnest hope that the thesis will be of service to colored people in St. Louis, and constitute an acceptable addition to the rapidly growing body of material on the urban negro problem.

St. Joseph, Mo.  
April 19, 1914.

Wm. A. C.



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# INTRODUCTION

The status of the Negro in the United States constitutes one of our many unsolved problems. Fifty years of freedom have passed, yet certain phases of the problem remain unsettled. From four and a half millions at the close of the Civil War, the colored race has increased in numbers to almost ten millions; and at the present time comprises about one-ninth of our population. The central problem is the adjustment of the relations between two races, which have much in common, but are unequal in the enjoyment of rights and opportunities. The social and political aspects of the negro problem have been thoroughly discussed, for along these lines students of the problem have devoted their efforts. But the industrial phase of the problem, which is of supreme importance, has received less attention. Someone has said that the social growth of man has its root in economic life; that man will progress as his economic condition is bettered. If this be true, industrial emancipation will mean a greater increase of social and political freedom. For this reason, then, an understanding of the industrial status of the Negro, his occupations, conditions of toil, industrial opportunities, and income is of utmost importance in the effort to solve the problem.

## 1. Studies of Negro Urban Population

In searching for available material on this subject, the seven following studies on the industrial phase of the problem were found:

Locality.	Author	Scope	Title	Date
Philadelphia,	Dubois	General	The Philadelphia Negro.....	1902
New York,	Haynes	Industrial	The Negro at Work in New York .....	1912
New York,	Ovington	Industrial	Half a man.....	1911
Pennsylvania,	Wright	Historical and General	The Negro in Pennsylvania..	1912
Boston,	Daniels	Industrial	Industrial conditions among Negro Men in Boston.....	1904
Kansas City,	Martin	Economic Condition	Economic Status of the Kansas City Negro.....	1913
St. Louis,	Brandt	General	The St. Louis Negro.....	1902

The best general study of conditions of negro urban population is that made in Philadelphia by Dr. Dubois. He compiled data on the size, age, sex, health, conjugal condition, early history, education and illiteracy, occupations, family, housing, crime, organized life, pauperism, alcoholism, environment and race relations of the Negro—in a word found out almost everything of value about the Philadelphia negro. The chapter on occupations is complete in itself with its detailed study of occupations of colored people of the seventh ward and of the entire city.

A study ably made, and of great social value, is the one recently published by Dr. G. E. Haynes. It is an extensive study of industrial conditions among the colored people of New York City. The study contains a wealth of material on the Negro in business, with less complete information in regard to the wage earners.

Mrs. Mary Ovington, in her book "Half a Man," vividly portrays negro life in New York City and the handicaps under which the race lives. Her chapters on "The Colored Woman as a Breadwinner," "The Negro and the Municipality," "The Child of the Tenement," and those dealing with industrial conditions are especially interesting.

Dr. Wright's work is a general historical study of the Pennsylvania Negro from the earliest times to 1912. Occupations, business enterprises, ownership of property, church and secret societies, education, and poverty, are historically treated. It is a valuable addition to the small but growing body of knowledge of negro urban population.

The study of conditions among Boston negroes by Mr. Daniels deals solely with the industrial phase of the problem. He lays emphasis on the grade of work rather than the kind of work, and believes there is an upward trend in local conditions for the Negro.

The Kansas City study by Mr. Martin deals with the "Economic Status of the Negro," and discusses such questions as ownership of property, incomes and expenditures. His conclusion is in general favorable to the progress of the race.

Miss Lillian Brandt's general study of the St. Louis negro was made in 1902. There is a chapter on occupations, containing a short discussion of the business ventures and trades of the Negro. But having for its object a general survey of the population, industrial conditions were less intensively studied. One of its chief values to this investigation is that it may be used for purposes of comparison.

Search has revealed no other studies of industrial conditions in any northern city. The seven listed are very valuable for purposes of comparison, and form a nucleus around which further investigations should be made. With some half dozen more studies, fairly general conclusions concerning industrial conditions in the North could be drawn. Until then the chief value of such investigations will lie in revealing actual conditions in each locality. This will enable urban negro groups to realize their actual status, and formulate a practical program for race betterment.

## 2. Purpose and Scope

The aim of the present study was to investigate industrial conditions among the colored people of St. Louis. The Social Service League of Colored People, having long felt the need of definite information, as the first step in a constructive program for bettering industrial conditions, asked the School of Social Economy of Washington University to make the investigation. The diversity of occupations entered by Negroes was not known, much less the approximate number of workers in various fields. A desire was expressed on the part of the League to investigate conditions *and thus find out whether there were any unused industrial opportunities*

within the reach of the colored race. The investigator was given a free hand in determining the limits and scope of the investigation. All the aid asked for was gladly given by the members of a special committee from the League, to whom the writer will always owe a debt of thanks. Scores of others, both colored and white, hearing of the study, heartily joined in furnishing valuable data. All colored people seemed eager and willing to aid in any attempt that might result in bettering their industrial condition. In interviewing all classes of colored people, the learned and the ignorant, the business man and common laborer, professional worker and artisan, only three men were found who refused to treat the investigator in the most courteous manner. Could such a record be set forth for another race?

Concisely stated, the purposes of the study are:

First: To learn in what occupations the Negroes of St. Louis are engaged.

Second: To approximate a census of occupations.

Third: To study wages and working conditions in the different occupations.

Fourth: To state the viewpoint of the Negro, the union, the employer and the general public.

Fifth: To suggest a practical program for the industrial betterment of the colored people of St. Louis.

It is evident that a general list of occupations in which the Negro is engaged was needed before a thorough study of conditions could be made. To learn the approximate number of workers, and in what occupations they were massed, was also important. A fairly complete wage scale would indicate something of the Negro's earning power and standard of living. A study of working conditions together with the viewpoint of the various human factors of industry would reveal the reason for the present occupational status of the Negro. And lastly, a summing up of his industrial opportunities and handicaps would enable us to formulate a practical program for industrial betterment. Certain conditions were found. How may they be improved? How may the few unused opportunities be utilized to the best advantage? What can be done now, this year, five years hence, to better industrial conditions? Who must do it, and how must it be done? These considerations, all coming under the fifth head, are most important, if we are really in earnest in our determination to solve the industrial problems of the Negro.

### 3. Methods of Investigation

#### *a. Schedule.*

To ascertain the number of occupations, 2832 schedules of workers were gathered, the colored organizations assisting loyally in this work. These schedules were simple and merely covered the occupations of the different members of the family, names and addresses of employers, and the home addresses of the employees. The geographical distribution was such that they represented correctly the wage-earning Negroes of the city. Selecting from these schedules those best suited to yield further in

formation, the investigator personally visited colored workers of all classes and occupations, in their homes, generally before or after regular hours of labor.

Another schedule was sent out to many employers, from whom fairly complete returns were received. This schedule related to the nature of the work performed by the Negro; preference of the employer for Negro or white labor; reliability, industriousness, etc. A limited number of schedules were gathered by two colored investigators. The following points were covered: occupation, wages, hours and regularity of work. The schedule used in collecting data from the business enterprises covered: class of establishment, address, years in business, capital, yearly sales, rents, etc.

*b. Personal Investigation.*

Besides visiting colored workers in their homes, other information was gathered by personal visits to colored men at their places of business. Not all were visited, but a fairly representative number. After having gained considerable knowledge of working conditions from the colored people, the plants, foundries, and industrial establishments in which they worked were visited to verify the data. Whenever possible the foremen and timekeepers were interviewed, as well as the managers and superintendents. Lead factories, nut factories, packing houses, freight houses, iron and steel foundries, brick and coal yards, quarries, car barns, railroad stations wholesale and retail establishments and various other places were investigated in this manner. The section on unions is based upon personal interviews with general secretaries of the Trades and Labor Council, with business agents and secretaries of local unions, both black and white. The conclusions given will undoubtedly hold for the local situation. The work was begun in October, 1912, and continued until November, 1913.

# CHAPTER I

## THE NEGRO IN THE CITY

### A. DISCUSSION OF NEGRO URBAN INCREASE.

#### 1. Relation of Urban to Rural Growth.

A most important consideration in any local study is its relation to the larger problems of the field. This study deals only with urban conditions and, again, considers only the northern situation, although the south has many cities having a large negro population. Finally, only a single city within a certain class of cities will be studied, which makes it necessary to explain definitely the relative importance of that city.

The first step in narrowing the field is to ascertain how important the urban problem is in the entire negro problem. According to the Census of 1910, 72.6 percent, or almost three-fourths, of the colored race live in rural districts. And of this negro rural population 96.5 percent live in the south. The question naturally arises, how much faster is urban population increasing than rural population. Table I shows that in the last decade the urban population increased from 22.7 percent to 27.4 percent of the total negro population. It also reveals the percentage of absolute increase of negro urban and rural population for the last two decades.

TABLE I.  
GROWTH OF NEGRO URBAN POPULATION.\*

	Percentage of Urban and Rural Negro Population.		Percentage of Absolute Increase by Decades.	
	1910	1900	1910-00	1900-90
Negro population, U. S.....	100.0	100.0	11.2	19.0
Rural .....	72.6	77.3	4.5	13.7
Urban .....	27.4	22.7	34.2	35.2

It appears that the rate of negro rural increase is less rapid than that of Negroes in cities. But this is true of all elements of the population, in every section of the country.

Let us next inquire if any particular section of the country has shown a marked proportional increase during the last decade in negro population, either urban or rural. This will be disclosed by the data in Table II.

\*Abstract of the Census 1910, p. 92, Table 18.

TABLE II.

RURAL AND URBAN NEGRO POPULATION IN NORTH, SOUTH, AND WEST FOR 1900-1910.<sup>1</sup>

	Rural				Urban			
	1910	Percent	1900	Percent	1910	Percent	1900	Percent
U. S.,	7,138,534	100.0	6,829,873	100.0	2,689,229	100.0	2,004,121	100.0
North,	232,708	3.0	271,700	4.0	794,966	29.6	639,325	32.0
South,	6,894,972	95.6	6,558,173	96.0	1,854,455	69.0	1,364,796	68.0
West,	10,854	1.5	†		39,808	1.4	†	

The relative proportions of negro rural population for the North, South and West remained virtually unchanged. In the group of Southern cities the colored population increased but one percent, while in the North, making allowance for the Western figures included, there was probably no relative increase at all. This certainly dispels the idea that there is an undue exodus of the Negroes from the country districts to the city, or extensive migration from one section of the country to another.

## 2. Increase by Classes of Cities.

The following table shows the percentage of different racial elements in the total population of northern cities; also the absolute increase of these racial elements for the last decade:

TABLE III.

PERCENTAGE OF RACIAL ELEMENTS IN TOTAL POPULATION IN 1910.

Cities	Total Population	Negro Population	Native White of Native Parents	Native White of Foreign Parents	Foreign Born	Negro
New York,	4,766,883	91,709	19.3	38.2	40.4	1.9
Philadelphia,	1,549,008	84,459	37.7	32.1	24.7	5.5
Chicago,	2,185,283	44,103	20.4	41.8	35.7	2.0
St. Louis,	687,029	43,960	39.3	35.9	18.3	6.4
Pittsburg,	533,905	25,623	33.0	35.9	26.3	4.8
Kansas City,	248,381	23,566	61.9	18.4	10.2	9.5
Indianapolis,	233,650	21,816	64.5	17.7	8.5	9.3
Cincinnati,	363,591	19,369	42.6	36.4	15.6	5.4
Boston,	670,585	13,564	23.5	38.3	35.9	2.0

Abstract of U. S. Census 1910, p. 95, Table 19.

<sup>1</sup>Census of 1900, Supplementary Analysis, pp. 204-5.

<sup>1</sup>Census of 1910, Abstract, p. 92.

<sup>†</sup>In Census of 1900 figures for "West" are included under "North."

## THE NEGRO IN THE CITY

TABLE IV.

### PERCENTAGE OF ABSOLUTE INCREASE OF RACIAL ELEMENTS, 1900-1910.

Cities	Native White of Native Parents	Native White of Foreign Parents	Foreign Born	Negro
New York,	25.0	32.0	52.1	51.2
Philadelphia,	11.9	19.9	30.2	34.9
Chicago,	25.6	25.3	18.1	46.3
St. Louis,	42.6	3.2	13.2	23.8
Pittsburg,	19.6	14.0	22.3	25.3
Kansas City,	62.9	36.5	38.5	34.1
Indianapolis,	54.0	8.0	15.8	37.5
Cincinnati,	36.3	5.7	1.8	33.7
Boston,	8.0	24.2	23.4	16.9

Negro population in northern cities of the metropolitan class show percentages of absolute increase varying from 51 to 16, New York standing highest with 51.2 percent; followed by Chicago, 46.3 percent; Indianapolis 37.5 percent; Philadelphia, 34.9; and so through the list to Boston with 16.9 percent. The negro urban population has, with few exceptions, increased relatively faster than the other racial elements. The proportional increase is very slight however, and cannot greatly affect the composition of the population as the presence of a large proportion of foreign born has done. In the northern cities, with the exception of Kansas City and Boston, the negro urban population has increased at a faster rate than the foreign born population. In New York, the highest rate of increase among the foreign born occurs, and the Negroes' rate of increase is exceeded by less than one percent; in Philadelphia the negro rate of increase exceeds that of the foreign born 4.7 percent; in Chicago, 28.2 percent; in St. Louis 10.6 percent; in Pittsburg, 3 percent; in Indianapolis, 21.7 percent; in Cincinnati, 31.9 percent. On the contrary, the rate of increase among the foreign born in Kansas City exceeds that of the Negro by 4.4 percent, and in Boston, 6.5 percent. The comparison of the rates of increase of negro population with those of native whites of foreign parentage shows that the negro population is increasing at the faster rate, except in Boston and Kansas City. Making the same comparison with the native whites of native parentage, we find them exceeding the rate of negro growth in St. Louis, Kansas City, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis. In several instances the white rate of increase is twice that of the colored. The reverse was substantially true for New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburg and Boston. The figures would seem to show that the native whites of native parentage and the Negroes are the two elements in the northern urban population which are increasing at the most rapid rate. The high rate of increase among Negroes can only mean that the great demand in the modern city is for unskilled labor, probably in personal service and common labor, certainly not to any great extent in factory labor. It must also be remembered that the original number of Negroes in these cities was small and a high rate of increase has been a natural development.

The percentage of Negroes does not amount to 10 in any northern



city, and in the largest cities ranges from 2 to 6. Nevertheless these negro populations, if considered in absolute numbers, constitute a large body,—a city within a city. In New York there are as many Negroes as there are people in Springfield, Massachusetts; Camden, or Trenton, New Jersey; Reading, Pennsylvania; or Dallas, Texas. In St. Louis there are enough Negroes to make a city the size of Topeka, Kansas; Lincoln, Nebraska; Davenport, Iowa; or Rockford, Illinois. And it might be added that negro population is confined to a much smaller area than is the population of the cities just named.

Turning to the cities of the South we find that their negro populations, with two exceptions—Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas—have not increased at so rapid a rate as has the total population. In direct contrast to slight increases in absolute numbers in cities of the North are those in the South which range from a decrease of 12.7 percent in Wilmington, Delaware, to 214.9 percent increase in Birmingham, Alabama. In all increases of city populations, no matter how phenomenal, negro population has increased at almost as rapid a rate as the general population. The wide range of increases indicate the play of local conditions, showing the need of local studies. Why, for instance, has the negro population of Augusta, Georgia, decreased 0.7 percent and that of Savannah increased 21.2 percent? They are cities not disproportionate in size and comparatively near to each other. Atlanta, Georgia, shows a remarkable increase of 45.3 percent; Jacksonville, Florida, 86.5; Birmingham, Alabama, 214.9, and Wilmington, Delaware, a decrease of 12.7 percent. The three large cities of the South,—Washington, Baltimore and New Orleans,—show no decided increase. They may have reached their point of saturation, or the maximum, beyond which negro growth will be retarded greatly. Possibly industrial and educational advantages have been limited, or race feeling brought into play, making further increases unprofitable. On the other hand, the cities of the southwest,—Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston and San Antonio, Texas,—have increased their negro population rapidly, due possibly to the industrial advantages offered. It is evident that the South as well as the North has a negro urban problem, and that causes of increase or decrease of negro population can only be determined by local studies.

A short study of cities having 25,000 population or more, and having a negro population of 1,000 to 10,000, was made. The percentages of absolute increase were smaller than those in the cities of the metropolitan class, showing that larger cities are increasing their negro population at the faster rate. This is undoubtedly due to several causes. First, industrial opportunities are found in greater abundance than in smaller cities; the call for such labor as the Negro can furnish is much greater. The movement of all unskilled workers is toward the larger cities, and in the case of the Negro, as in the case of each of the foreign born races, the movement is toward cities where there are considerable numbers of his race. It would seem that the main reason for increases in the negro urban population has been industrial rather than any racial traits. For the New England group of cities proportional percentages of Negroes decreased in seven cases out of ten. The same was true for the Middle Atlantic group, with the exception of Jersey City, N. J. In the West, Los Angeles and Oakland *increased their negro population* at a more rapid rate than their total popu-

lation, the reverse being true for San Francisco. In the North Central group nine out of twenty-one cities showed an increase in the proportion of Negroes in the population. In all sections of the country were found great differences in the rates of negro increase even among cities of the same state.

### 3. Summary.

To summarize, we find that—

First,—Negro urban population is increasing at a faster rate than negro rural population, but the growth is a normal one because the proportion of urban and rural negro population in the entire urban and rural population remains unchanged.

Second,—Negro urban population is increasing at a slightly higher rate in northern cities than their total population. With few exceptions, the same is true for southern cities.

Third,—In northern cities negro populations are increasing at a faster rate than are the foreign born or the native whites of foreign parentage. The native whites of native parentage, however, have increased at a much faster rate than Negroes. The exceptions noted are New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston and Pittsburg.

Fourth,—The South as well as the North has a growing urban problem. Varying rates of increase of negro urban population in every section of the country reveal the need of local studies.

Fifth,—In cities having a smaller negro population the increase is less rapid. It is greatest in the South, West, and North Central divisions.

## B. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE ST. LOUIS NEGRO POPULATION.

### 1. St. Louis as a Negro Urban Center.

Only three cities north of the Ohio and the Potomac rivers have a larger negro population than St. Louis. In order of numbers these are New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The city having a negro population most nearly similar in size is Chicago. Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia and New York have a negro population approximately twice as numerous as that of St. Louis or Chicago. And in turn these two cities have a negro population almost twice that of Pittsburg, Kansas City, Indianapolis, or Boston.

As to similarity of local conditions, New York might be grouped with Philadelphia and Boston; Chicago with Pittsburg and Indianapolis; St. Louis with Kansas City and Cincinnati. This is merely a matter of conjecture, for studies of industrial conditions have been made in only three of these cities. That industrial conditions in Chicago and St. Louis probably differ can be shown in many ways. Though these two cities are almost equal in negro population, Chicago has a general population over three times as large as that of St. Louis, and its proportion of foreign born is twice as large. If absolute figures are taken, Chicago's foreign born population is six and one-fifth times that in St. Louis. Another pertinent fact is, that the negro population has increased almost twice as fast in Chicago as in St. Louis. The industries of the two cities differ in variety and magnitude.

Chicago is a northern city of cosmopolitan population, while St. Louis is largely German, and influenced by southern traditions. Local colored men who have lived in both cities are of the opinion that there is greater freedom and opportunity in Chicago than in St. Louis. Whether this is due to northern tolerance or greater industrial opportunity cannot be definitely determined.

## 2. General Population and Industries of St. Louis.

The composition of the population of St. Louis is 39.3 percent native born of native parentage, 35.9 percent of foreign or mixed parentage, 18.3 percent foreign born white and 6.4 percent negro. Most of the native born are of southern extraction, while those of foreign or mixed parentage are largely German. The foreign born are composed mainly of Germans, Irish, English, Italians, Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, Slavs, Greeks and Jews. The so-called new immigrants,—the Italians, Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, Slavs, Greeks and Jews,—are not numerous for a city of this class. This fact is favorable to the Negro, for it is with these races that he must compete while engaging in certain occupations.

St. Louis is extensively engaged in the manufacture of brick and of lead products, in iron and steel production, and in meat packing, in all of which industries the Negroes are employed. Of the industries which are closed to colored labor we shall speak later. River traffic, which formerly furnished work to a large number of Negroes, has been greatly reduced in the last two decades. There is also a considerable demand for negro labor in the smaller cities and towns adjoining St. Louis. East St. Louis, a city of 60,000 population, is a great manufacturing center. Its great packing plants, steel mills, lead factories and freight houses have been quick to utilize negro labor. The small cities of Madison and Granite City, Illinois, also have large steel foundries, lead factories, and various other industrial plants. Negro labor in these enterprises does not come from the cities just named alone, but from Newport and Brooklyn, negro settlements on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. A smaller percentage come from St. Louis, because of the cost of carfare and the inconvenience in going to and from work. However, opportunities for labor are there, and a considerable number of St. Louis Negroes are engaged in work across the river.

## 3. Location of Negro Sections in St. Louis.

Negro residential and business sections within the city limits are pretty definitely localized. In St. Louis proper there are five colored districts, located about as follows: the Morgan street district, composed of Morgan and adjacent streets, begins just north of the business section at Eighth street and continues to Ewing avenue. There the district merges with the Marken and Pine street district, which runs west from Twentieth street to Cardinal and Compton avenues. A large settlement is found along the Mill Creek Valley from the Union Station west to Kingshighway. The largest settlement, called Elleardsville, begins at Vandeventer avenue on the east and extends west to Taylor, south to Easton avenue, and north to Fairgrounds Park. Four blocks south of Elleardsville, beginning at Vandeventer avenue, is a rapidly growing district, called the Finney avenue district. There is also a large settlement in Carondelet. Most of the business

establishments under the management of colored people are in the Market and Pine street district; a few are located in the Morgan street, Elleardsville and Finney avenue districts. The majority of the porters, janitors, steam railroad employees and foundry workers are found in the Market and Pine street district, because of its nearness to the railroads or electric lines running directly to their work. Housing conditions are bad; dwellings are crowded together and rents are high. The air of the district is filled with smoke from railroad engines and factories; and shrieks from the whistles of incoming trains may be heard at any hour of the day or night. In the Morgan street section the same bad housing conditions prevail, and more undesirable still is its proximity to a segregated district.\* In the Elleardsville and Finney avenue districts are the residences of the well-to-do class and of those engaged in personal service in the West End. Here are located the Simmons Grade School and the Sumner High School. Most of the home-owning negro population live in these sections, and, generally speaking, housing conditions are good. The Carondelet district contains Negroes who work in that section of the city. A trip through the Morgan and Market street districts will convince any observant person that a large part of the colored people do live wretchedly, under unsanitary conditions, and in dilapidated dwellings.

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\*This segregated district—the last in St. Louis—was closed by a police order effective March 1, 1914.

## CHAPTER II

### OCCUPATIONS AND WAGES

#### A. OCCUPATIONS.

##### 1. Negro Wage-earning Population of St. Louis.

In the absence of the 1910 Census figures on occupations, to estimate the present number of male and female bread-winners is not an easy task. The number of male bread-winners ten years of age and over in 1900 was 12,973, or 74.7 percent of the total number of males. Analysis of St. Louis statistics for 1910 on colored population, however, indicates a larger percentage than 74.7. This is brought out by the following table:

TABLE V.  
INCREASE IN THE COLORED POPULATION OF ST. LOUIS,  
1900-1910.\*

	Male	Female	Male 21 years and over
1910.....	22,168	21,792	16,381
1900.....	17,496	18,020	11,727
Increase .....	4,672	3,772	4,654

The figures show that there was a greater increase of males than females during the last decade, and that the males who were in the minority in 1900, exceeded the females in 1910.\*\* Further investigation shows that the increase of males was not a natural one, but was due to the migration of adult males to St. Louis. While the increase of the total number of negro males was 4,672, the increase of negro males twenty-one years of age and over was only 18 less.

Taking as a basis 12,973, the number of colored male bread-winners in 1900, and adding the increase of adult males, we would have 17,627 male bread-winners. Undoubtedly some of those twenty-one years of age and over are incapacitated through age, sickness or idleness. After investigating the statistics of representative states, such as Kansas, it was decided that a deduction of 6 percent from the adult male increase of 4,654, or

\*Census of 1910. Abstract.

\*\*St. Louis now has 101.7 negro males to each 100 negro females; Kansas City has a precisely similar proportion; and Chicago, 105.9. On the other hand, the corresponding figure from New York City is 85; for Philadelphia is 87.6; for Atlanta, Ga., is 81. The figure would seem to suggest that the first group of cities are using negro males in their expanding common labor industries.

279, would be a reasonable reduction. This subtracted from 17,627 leaves 17,348, the number of male bread-winners 10 years of age and over which we shall consider for purposes of our study. This number of bread-winners is 79 percent of the total number of males, or an increase of 4.3 percent in the proportion of male bread-winners. As there was no reason to suspect a change in the relative proportion of female bread-winners for 1900 and 1910, 35.6 percent of 21,792, or 7,758 bread-winning females, was considered a fair basis upon which to work.

## 2. Proportion of Wage-Earners Studied.

In order to indicate the proportion of bread-winners studied and to allow the drawing of conclusions as to the value of this study, the following table was introduced:

TABLE VI.  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL BREAD-WINNERS  
STUDIED.

Groups	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Estimated Additional Numbers	Total Wage Earners	Percent- age of Group Studied
Professional,	26	93	3	.....	93	100.0
Business,	37	175	2	108	304	64.8
Clerical,	84	227	10	32	297	89.2
Artisan,	152	409	15	35	514	93.2
Personal Serv.	689	1685	49	4390	6490	32.4
Factory, Common	256	2841	18	454	3524	87.2
Labor,	643	2193	42	2422	5050	54.0
Boys,	67	388	27	585	1076	45.7
Total No.	1954	8011	166	7926	17,348	
Percent,	.....	.....	.....	45.8	100.0	54.2
Women's No.	878	593	11	6297	7758	
Percent,	.....	.....	.....	81.1	100.0	18.8

Something of value was learned about fifty-four percent of the male wage-earning population. In the majority of cases the information covered wages, numbers in the occupations and general working conditions. Of the women's group, approximately nineteen percent were studied. A larger percentage than fifty-four would be shown if the first three columns were added together, because many workers were unavoidably duplicated in the three groups of schedules. Considerable investigation was carried on in East St. Louis, among the meat-packing plants, freight houses, lead factories and steel mills. And while the total of 2,500 negro wage-earners covered there could not be added to the groups of St. Louis negro wage-earners, the data gathered are valuable in supplementing the knowledge of St. Louis conditions.

The additional estimates, found in the fourth column, are not a collection of guesses, but reasonable estimates based on less accurate information than that found in the first three columns. To illustrate: there are listed in the personal service group 1,600 porters in saloons, and 950

porters in barber shops. Only 62 porters out of both groups were recorded by schedule or interviewed. The evidence which warranted such a large estimate follows: there are 2,200 saloons in St. Louis and about 1,100 barber shops. In visiting these places in all sections of St. Louis it was believed that approximately 1,600 saloons out of 2,200, and 950 barber shops out of 1,100, each employed a negro porter. The evidence plainly was of value, but not sufficiently exact to be recorded in the second column.

The percentage for the number of colored wage earners studied in each particular group is recorded in the last column of the table. The professional group was comparatively easily accounted for. About 65 percent of the business group, 89.2 percent of the clerical group, and 93 percent of the artisan group were studied. The personal service group was the most difficult to investigate, because of the scattered location of its members. Information was gathered for slightly less than a third of the workers of this group. The factory group was well accounted for because of the comparative ease of locating large numbers of workers and studying general working conditions. Only a little over half of the common labor group were studied, but all the important occupations within the group received due attention. Approximately 45 percent of the boys' group, and 19 percent of the women's group were investigated more or less thoroughly. A smaller number of these two groups needed to be studied because these workers are massed in comparatively few occupations.

### 3. Discussion of Occupational Groups.

The first problem of the study was to list the different occupations in which Negroes are engaged. If a technical definition of the word occupation be discarded, and what a man actually does is termed his occupation, St. Louis Negroes are engaged in 226 different occupations. To be sure many kinds of work are very similar but the conditions of toil vary. The diversity of tasks performed is noteworthy. The negro workers probably have as much experience in various occupations as any group except the whites of native parentage. Many Negroes were found who had worked successively in the Pullman service, brickyards, steel foundries, in banks as porters, in schools as janitors and in hotels as waiters. A case in point is that of Mr. A, who learned the machinist's trade in the South, and became a locomotive engineer. On coming North he could get no employment except that of fireman. He worked as a chauffeur, a paperhanger and a barber. Another Negro successively practiced law, played in various musical organizations, and finally became a barber. Shortly before this study was finished the investigator met a man who was soon to step off the city garbage wagon and enter the federal service as a postal clerk. While these frequent changes from one occupation to another are to be deplored, no matter where the fault may be, the educational influence and the general knowledge acquired cannot be gainsaid. The average colored man has considerably more knowledge about the world in general than he is given credit for possessing.

These 226 occupations of the colored people may be grouped under nine heads, namely,—The Professional Group, Business Group, Clerical Group, Personal Service, Artisan, Factory, Common Labor, Boy's and

Women's Work.\* Many occupations of a similar character are combined in the condensed tables. Alongside the occupational division shown there is a social and economic stratification. This will be discussed for each group as the condensed tables are presented.

The Professional Group includes teachers, physicians, lawyers, dentists and ministers.

TABLE VII.  
PROFESSIONAL GROUP.

Occupation	Number**	Average Wages		Percent of Total
		Daily	Weekly	
Physicians,	23	\$5.21	\$31.26	24.7
Dentists,	7	6.25	37.50	7.5
Teachers,	29	6.85	41.10	31.2
Ministers,	23	2.32	13.92	24.7
Lawyers,	11	4.17	25.00	11.9
Total,	93	\$4.96	\$29.76	100.0

The members of this group may be considered as the highest class from an educational, social, and economic point of view. Their educational attainments serve to set them above the masses and make possible a higher social life. They are fairly well paid, averaging in fact, as a class, much better than the business group. The professional men, together with those engaged in business, are the leaders of their race. The teachers comprise 31.2 percent of the group, ministers and physicians each 24.7 percent. Not all the ministers stand on a par with other professional men, because many of them are exhorters of meager education and training. The lawyers do not stand high in their professions because they are not constantly engaged in the practice of law. The teachers, physicians and dentists are most truly representative of this group.

The Business Group is composed of all entrepreneurs large and small, who have capital in some business and are giving their time to the management of enterprises.

TABLE VIII.  
BUSINESS GROUP.

Incomes	Number Receiving	Average Income		Percent of Total Number
		Daily	Weekly	
\$3,500 and over,	6	\$12.15	\$72.90	2.0
2,500—\$3,500,	5	8.68	52.08	1.6
1,500—2,500,	10	5.21	31.25	3.3
1,000—1,500,	25	3.47	20.83	8.2
900—1,000,	42	3.12	18.75	13.5
700—900,	166	2.43	14.58	54.6
500—700,	50	1.73	10.41	14.8
Total,	304	\$ 2.75	\$16.50	100.0

\*Appendix B gives detailed tables for each group with the numbers in each occupation. It states also the source of the information, and the daily and weekly wages.

\*\*The number of negro professional men in St. Louis in 1912 may be compared with the statement of Miss Brandt for 1902; 14 Physicians, 2 Dentists, 17 Teachers, about 30 Ministers, and 10 Lawyers. See publication of the Am. Statistical Assn., Vol. VIII, pp. 234, et seq.



It is in this group that many of the most substantial men of the colored race are found, men who because of their daily contact with all classes of their brethren, and because of their experience with the competition of actual life, gave the most practical program for race betterment. They see the need of co-operation more clearly than do the professional group. The colored race has more hope of progress through their leadership than through that of any other group. Those engaged in the larger businesses belong to the same social class and live on the same economic plans as the members of the professional group. They can hardly be divided into occupational classes. The division is rather on the basis of income. After careful consideration it was concluded that not over 46 men or 15.1 percent of the group made \$1,000 per year and upwards. The remaining 84.9 percent probably have incomes ranging from \$500 to \$1,000.

In the clerical group are found those who are engaged by the federal government, the municipality, or by private capitalists, as clerks, book-keepers, stenographers, or in other positions of a similar nature.

TABLE IX.  
CLERICAL GROUP.

Occupation	Number	Average Wages		Percent of Totals
		Daily	Weekly	
Post Office Employees.....	167	\$3.64	\$21.85	56.2
City Officers and Clerks.....	47	3.52	21.10	15.8
Clerks in stores.....	20	2.03	12.21	6.7
Stenographers and Bookkeepers	26	2.58	15.46	8.8
All others .....	37	2.00	12.00	12.5
Totals.....	297	\$3.21	\$19.26	100.0

These workers are well established socially and economically, and with the business and professional groups constitute the well-to-do class of colored people; that is, those who earn enough to maintain a reasonable standard of living and get some measure of enjoyment out of life. This group can hardly be expected to attain much greater proportion until the colored race becomes more important in commercial life. The postoffice employees constitute over 56 percent of the group, city officers and clerks 15.8 percent. Clerks in stores, stenographers and bookkeepers only equal in number city officers and clerks. This shows the rigid exclusion of the Negro from commercial life. The remaining 12.5 percent are widely scattered in similar occupations.

Personal and domestic service, long the stronghold of the colored people, still claims a considerable share of the population. Almost four-tenths of the entire number of negro wage earners are included in this group.

TABLE X.  
PERSONAL SERVICE GROUP.

Occupation	Number	Average Wages		Percent of Totals
		Daily	Weekly	
Porters .....	3224	\$1.66	\$ 9.97	49.7
Janitors .....	1180	1.71	10.28	18.2
Pullman Service.....	900	2.25	13.50	13.9
Waiters and Cooks.....	646	2.06	12.36	9.9
Personal Service.....	50	1.67	10.02	.7
Barbers .....	115	2.50	15.00	1.8
All others .....	375	1.85	11.10	5.8
Totals.....	6490	\$1.81	\$10.86	100.0

Aside from those in the Pullman service and a few other lines of work, this group, which once constituted the colored aristocracy, has fallen in dignity and numbers, until it has come to be considered one of the lowest groups. The average daily and weekly wages are slightly lower than those received by common labor and the conditions of toil are less free. The service rendered is menial unskilled labor. The economic plane on which the members of the group live is probably higher than one would naturally suppose. The barbers, Pullman and railroad porters and waiters still try to live as their predecessors did although not receiving so high a wage. They dress well, appear well fed, and the great majority spend every dollar of their income as soon as it is received. The janitors and porters receive lower wages and consequently cannot maintain the same standard of living. Approximately seven-tenths of the personal service group are porters and janitors; or 4,404 out of 6,490. These workers constitute one-fourth of the total male wage earning population. However, the importance of these occupations undoubtedly has declined. Dr. Dubois found 61.5 percent of the colored male population of Philadelphia engaged in personal service while the same group in this study represents only 37.4 percent of the total males.† With the exception of the Pullman employees and waiters and cooks, who constitute about 23.8 percent of the total number, the remaining occupations are small and scattering. The inclusion of only 115 workers under the head of barbers and apprentices needs explanation. Of this number there are 75 journeymen barbers while others following this occupation have appeared in the business group as entrepreneurs. Under the head of all others the elevator men are the most numerous workers.

The artisan group comprises building laborers, mechanics, musicians and workers in other occupations of a similar nature.

†Dubois, "The Philadelphia Negro," p. 109.

TABLE XI.  
ARTISAN GROUP.

Occupation	Number	Average Wages		Percent of Totals
		Daily	Weekly	
Building Trades .....	93	\$4.34	\$26.04	18.0
Mechanics .....	218	2.53	15.18	42.6
Musicians .....	95	2.50	15.00	18.5
All others .....	108	2.03	12.18	20.9
Totals.....	514	\$2.74	\$16.44	100.0

Many included in this group have graduated from the ranks of factory or common labor and have by good fortune and ability raised themselves to comparatively skilled occupations at good wages. Others have come from the South where they acquired their trade. They are a most desirable class and an increase in their numbers would be most valuable to the colored race. Fair wages enable them to live decently. The largest group (42.6 percent of all) is, composed mainly of chauffeurs. The building tradesmen constituting 18.0 percent are of prime importance because they are the real representatives of the artisan class. The musicians comprise about 18.5 percent of the group, and the remaining 20.9 percent are in occupations which require some special skill or training.

Common labor and factory labor might well be considered together as far as general conditions of labor are concerned. The factory group, comprising all workers under supervision, working in some particular establishment, are somewhat better paid and are slightly more skilled than the common laborer group.

TABLE XII.  
FACTORY GROUP.

Occupation	Number	Average Wages		Percent of Totals
		Daily	Weekly	
Iron and Steel Workers.....	1800	\$2.75	\$16.50	51.1
Brick and Tile Workers.....	900	1.80	10.80	25.6
Lead Workers .....	200	1.90	11.40	5.7
Tobacco Workers .....	182	1.50	9.00	5.1
Packinghouse Employees .....	75	2.25	13.50	2.1
Car Repairers .....	65	2.00	12.00	1.8
All others .....	302	1.80	10.80	8.6
Totals.....	3524	\$2.29	\$13.76	100.0

The more enterprising colored laborers are entering the factory group,\* which, at the present rate of increase, will soon equal the common labor group in numbers. These two groups, together with the personal service group, constitute the great mass of the colored population. They are never more than two weeks from actual want; they must toil continually or exist on charity. A few weeks cessation of toil means defeat or a

\*Cf. Miss Brandt's statement for 1902: "Negroes cannot be employed in any factories with the single exception of the tobacco factories." The number of negro tobacco workers given is 350.

Am. Stat. Assn., Vol. 8, p. 238.

renewal of the struggle impeded by accumulated debts. Approximately half of the factory group are iron and steel workers. This is a very important development, as the colored race has much to hope for in the way of industrial advancement from this occupation. One-fourth are engaged in the brick and tile factories. The tobacco workers and lead workers each furnish slightly over 5 percent of the group. With the exception of the car repairers, the remaining laborers are scattered in various lines of factory labor.

The common labor group includes all unskilled manual labor of whatever sort, not included in the preceding groups.

TABLE XIII.  
COMMON LABOR GROUP.

Occupation	Number	Average Wages		Percent of Totals
		Daily	Weekly	
Teamsters .....	1307	\$2.10	\$12.60	25.9
City Labor .....	628	1.90	11.40	12.4
Hodcarriers and Building Laborers .....	1260	3.29	19.75	25.0
Car Cleaners and Railroad Workers .....	250	1.60	9.60	4.9
Freight Handlers .....	95	1.80	10.80	1.9
Stable Hands .....	310	2.00	12.00	6.1
Firemen-Boilermen .....	400	2.50	15.00	7.9
Miscellaneous Workers.....	600	1.75	10.50	12.0
All others .....	200	2.27	13.62	4.0
Totals.....	5050	\$2.31	\$13.86	100.0

Within the common labor group there are several occupations with relatively large numbers, but no one or two in which are found a majority of all, as was true of the personal service group. The teamsters constitute 25.9 percent of the total, the hod carriers and building material laborers 25 percent, city street laborers, 12.4, with still smaller percentages appearing as freight handlers, car cleaners and stable hands. Under the head of all others and miscellaneous workers 16 percent may be found. It is extremely difficult to classify workers in these last occupations according to the work performed. Many have no definite occupation. Others are "floaters" or transients, and still others simply accept the task nearest at hand.

Negro boys between the ages of 10 and 16 are included in the following table:

## NEGROES IN ST. LOUIS

TABLE XIV.  
BOYS' GROUP.

Occupation	Number	Average Wages		Percent of Totals
		Daily	Weekly	
Factory Workers .....	355	\$1.10	\$ 6.60	33.0
Common Labor .....	70	1.00	6.00	6.5
Personal Service .....	200	1.09	6.56	18.6
Newsboys .....	200	.50	3.00	18.6
Clerks, Errand Boys, etc.....	170	.79	4.74	15.8
All others .....	81	.52	3.12	7.5
Totals.....	1076	\$0.89	\$ 5.34	100.0

The boys' group does not show a great diversity of occupations. Approximately one-third are factory workers; 18.6 percent, newsboys; 18.6 percent, personal service workers; 15.8 percent are clerks and errand boys, while the remainder of the group is engaged in common labor and miscellaneous occupations.

The women's group completes the classification of St. Louis negro wage earners. Both girls and women appear in the following occupations as no practical basis was found by which they might be divided:

TABLE XV.  
WOMEN'S GROUP.

Occupation	Number	Average Wages		Percent of Totals
		Daily	Weekly	
Laundresses .....	4440	\$0.75	\$ 4.50	57.2
Personal Service .....	2225	1.03	6.18	28.7
Factory Workers .....	380	.83	5.00	4.9
Tradeswomen .....	59	1.07	6.42	0.8
Professional Service .....	654	2.56	15.36	8.4
Totals.....	7758	\$0.98	\$ 5.88	100.0

This table shows the narrow sphere within which colored women may labor. If the laundresses and personal service workers are combined they constitute 86 percent of the group, which percentage is very close to the 88.5 per cent found in the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia in 1899.† Only 4.9 percent are engaged in factory work, and only 0.8 percent in trade and business. The importance of the 8 percent in professional work should not be over emphasized as they are largely midwives, hairdressers, and seamstresses.

## 4. General Summary of Occupations.

Having described the occupations and the classes of labor within the groups, let us note how the groups compare in numbers, and in average wages. The general table here inserted furnishes this information.

†Dubois, "The Philadelphia Negro," p. 109.

TABLE XVI.  
NUMBERS AND WAGES IN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS.

Groups	Number	Average Wages		Percent
		Daily	Weekly	
Professional .....	93	\$4.96	\$29.76	0.5
Business .....	304	2.75	16.50	1.8
Clerical .....	297	3.21	19.26	1.7
Artisan .....	514	2.74	16.44	3.0
Personal Service.....	6490	1.81	10.86	37.4
Factory .....	3524	2.29	13.76	20.3
Common Labor.....	5050	2.31	13.86	29.1
Boys' Work.....	1076	0.89	5.34	6.2
<hr/>				
Males at work.....	17,348	.....	.....	100.0
Women at work.....	7,758	\$0.98	\$ 5.88	100.0

Total number of bread-winners, 25,106.

The last four groups—namely, personal service, factory, common labor, boys' work, constitute over nine-tenths of the total number of male negro wage earners. Here the great mass of negro workers is found. They are unskilled toilers performing the hardest and most menial of tasks. In glancing over the occupations of these groups one notices that most of the occupations disdained by the white man, are left for the Negro to perform. Those tasks requiring the least mental ability and the greatest expenditure of physical energy, those which are most menial and disagreeable, those in which there is great risk of life or health, are given to the Negro to perform. Working conditions are very bad, and wages meager. And further, there are very few unskilled occupations which offer a future, or an opening into more skilled work. This naturally makes the Negro indifferent about self-improvement or advancement. The incentive for efficiency and skill is entirely lacking. These conditions of toil cannot fail to have a depressing effect upon his spirit, and to narrow his outlook on life. Without at this time going into the reasons why he is kept on such a low economic level, we note the harsh fact that he is there and should be helped. The central negro problem in cities is not the question of relations with the labor unions, or with the whites, or segregation, or even education. It is the bettering of the economic condition of the nine-tenths of the race who are unskilled. If, to the last four groups, we add the artisans, the percentage rises to 96. It is safe to assume then that barely four percent of the colored workers in St. Louis earn their bread by mental toil rather than physical toil; and that of these, less than one percent are professional or business men of any standing.

Though the negro race is a race of unskilled toilers this does not mean that there is no movement toward better conditions. This may be shown by the shifting of toilers from one group to another. According to the Census of 1900, 55.5 percent of the negro population of St. Louis was engaged in domestic and personal service. The present study disclosed the fact that not more than 37.4 percent belong to this group in 1912. Even at this figure domestic and personal service claims over one-third of all negro male wage earners. There are indications that this group will continue to decline in relative importance due to greater opportunities in other

occupations. The great demand for unskilled labor has probably increased the common labor group, which constitutes 29.1 percent, nearly three-tenths of the total number of workers. As a group it is more desirable for colored workers than the personal service group, because wages are better, conditions of toil more free, and service less menial. The factory group, comprising 20.3 percent or one-fifth of the total number of negro wage earners, is the newest and most promising development in the unskilled groups. Workers have been drawn from domestic and personal service, and common labor to build up this group. The factory occupations offer the Negro an opportunity to acquire skill, and earn more wages. And if, for some time to come, the Negro is to be a manual toiler, these occupations offer him the most advancement. The range of factory occupations is small and the Negro is massed in three or four occupations. However, he has gained a foothold and his success in these occupations will inevitably open up others for him. It is safe to predict that the number of factory occupations entered by the Negro will increase, and likewise the number of workers. It is an encouraging fact that St. Louis, unlike other cities, has her negro workers divided more or less equally in several unskilled occupations.

The boys' group will not materially increase in numbers because of the general exclusion of negro boys from factory work. There has been practically no change in the occupations of women or the proportional number engaged in each occupation, during the last decade. It seems to be an established fact that the negro woman's field for some time to come will be domestic and personal service.

##### 5. Occupational Comparison of White and Colored Workers.

To show the relative proportion of the total population and of Negroes engaged in the same occupations, the table on occupational groups is here presented. The figures are for 1900, no 1910 figures of any sort on occupations being available until May of 1914.

TABLE XVII.  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF WAGE-EARNERS IN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN ST. LOUIS FOR 1900.

	Total			
	Population	Percent	Negro	Percent
Males .....	190,842	100.0	12,973	100.0
Agricultural Pursuits .....	2,242	1.2	90	0.7
Professional Service .....	8,885	4.6	316	2.4
Domestic and Personal Service.....	36,198	19.0	7,206	55.5
Trade and Transportation.....	69,191	36.2	3,620	27.9
Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits	74,326	38.9	1,741	13.4
Females .....	54,506	.....	6,608	.....
Agricultural Pursuits .....	63	0.1	.....	.....
Professional Service .....	3,464	6.4	164	2.4
Domestic and Personal Service.....	23,928	43.9	6,102	92.4
Trade and Transportation.....	8,761	16.0	38	0.6
Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits	18,290	33.5	304	4.6

Census of 1900. Volume on Occupations, pp. 706-710.

In professional service the total male population has nearly twice the proportion that the negro men have. In personal and domestic service,—the most undesirable group of all,—the Negroes' percentage exceeds the whites almost three times. The whites have a larger percentage in trade and transportation. In manufacturing and mechanical pursuits the Negroes have only one-third as many workers in proportion as the whites. Among women wage earners there is marked disparity between the percentage of negro women employed in the various occupational groups and those for the total of female workers. Conspicuous in the comparison are the 92.4 percent of negro women engaged in domestic and personal service as opposed to the 43.9 percent in the total female population. On the other hand but 4.6 percent of the colored women are in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits comparing with 33.5 percent of all females.

#### B. WAGES, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND WORK RECORDS.

In the study of the industrial condition of the Negro, what he earns is as important as what he does. Exact information covering wages will go far toward explaining the economic condition of the Negro. Standards of living, ownership of homes, establishment of business enterprises, and social conditions are largely governed by the wage scale which prevails. It is generally understood that the Negro receives low wages, but the important thing to discover is how low the wages are; what wages are paid in various occupations and groups; which occupations yield the least and which the greatest returns, and whether the Negro receives less than other workers for the same task performed. The following table showing the number and percentages of colored wage earners by groups and wage limits is compiled from the detailed tables:





## 1. Discussion of Wages by Occupational Groups.

Wage statistics may well be discussed first by occupational groups. Five members of the professional group earn less than \$12.00 per week, and 31.1 percent earn less than \$25.00; 53.7 percent from \$25.00 to \$40.00, and the remainder, 15.1 percent, \$40.00, and upwards. The three-tenths receiving less than \$25.00 per week are not earning a high wage, at least not a wage commensurate with their training and ability. The doctors, dentists, and teachers are much better paid for their services than the ministers and lawyers, because the former rank higher in their professions. The average weekly wage for the group is \$29.76.

The average income of the business group is materially lowered because of the large number of small proprietors included whose business pays them little above regular wages. The incomes stated for this group contain a larger percentage of estimates than those of any other group. The final conclusion is that there are not more than 46 men in business who are making over one thousand dollars per year. The incomes of these 46 men are distributed as follows: 25 men have incomes ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,500; 10 men, from \$1,500 to \$2,500; 5 men, from \$2,500 to \$3,500; and 6 men, \$3,500 or over. The average weekly income is \$16.50.

The clerical group receives an average weekly wage of \$19.26. The postoffice employees and city officers and clerks, who comprise almost three-fourths of the group, earning from \$21.00 to \$21.85 per week, are very well paid. The stenographers, bookkeepers and store clerks receive from \$12.00 to \$15.00 per week. Evidently the municipal and federal workers raise the average wage for this group. When the records show that there are only 26 colored stenographers and bookkeepers in a great city like St. Louis, and when that number is compared with the thousands of white persons engaged in the same occupations, some idea is gained of the almost universal exclusion of colored people from this field.

The artisan group is also very small when compared with the proportion of whites in the same trades. The average weekly wage is \$16.44. The building laborer, such as plasterers, masons, carpenters, receive the highest wages; the mechanics, largely chauffeurs, coming next, with a wage of \$15.18,—musicians receiving \$15.00. Approximately seven-eighths of the group receive an average weekly wage of \$15.00 and upwards, one-eighth average less than \$15.00. According to a recent investigation made in the School of Social Economy of Washington University, \$15.00 per week would be the minimum wage upon which a man could support a family of five persons.

We now come to a discussion of wages for the last four groups, those who average less than \$15.00 per week. In the personal service group, 96.1 percent receive an average weekly wage of less than \$15.00. Fewer than 300 earn \$15.00 per week and upwards. There is doubtless a person here and there who may make \$20 to \$25 per week, but the number is very small; comparing further we find that 80.4 percent of the group receive a wage under \$13.50, and 64. percent a wage under \$12.00. And lastly the table shows 25.0 percent or 1,630 wage earners, receiving less than \$10 per week, or \$40 per month. But this does not reveal the whole truth. How much lower the loss of time through sickness and idleness, reduces

the average wage cannot be exactly ascertained. This reduction affects all groups except the first two. Average wages for the month and year are bound to be lower than those suggested by the table.

Of course, the wages quoted here are for individual workers and not for families. It would hardly be possible to maintain families on such small incomes. Such low remuneration means that every member of the family must work to supplement the earnings of the principal bread-winner. One continually wonders, with the increased cost of living, how these classes of workers manage to exist. The question of mere physical existence is always uppermost in their minds. Is it any wonder that they take little thought of the morrow?

The factory group makes a more encouraging showing. Approximately two-fifths receive a wage of \$15 and upwards, and three-fifths a wage under \$15. Only 5.6 percent receive a wage under \$10, 32 percent from \$10 to \$12, and 23.2 percent a wage of \$12 to \$13.50. The two-fifths earning \$15 and upwards are largely iron and steel workers. Those earning a lower wage are the brick and tile workers, and the lead and tobacco workers. One encouraging feature is that there is an opportunity in the steel foundries for colored workers to rise above the \$15 limit. Yet three-fifths of the whole group are now earning less than \$15 per week, the average weekly being \$13.76.

The common labor group has an average wage slightly higher than that of the factory group, an average per week of \$13.86. This good showing is due to the 800 hodcarriers who average \$24 per week when they are employed. The work is seasonal, and the men are idle much of the time. It is doubtful whether the \$4 per day paid them would amount to more than an average of \$2.50 per day for the entire year. If the wages of the 800 hodcarriers be computed at this figure, it would reduce the average daily wage of the common labor group to \$2.13, or \$12.78 per week. This is practically \$1.00 less than the average weekly wage of the factory group. Of the common labor group, 73.2 percent receive a wage under \$15, 66.3 percent average under \$13.50, and 29.4 percent receive a wage under \$12. Again it is evident that a large proportion of workers, approximately three-fourths, have barely sufficient wages to sustain life. The living wage of the working girl is important; the family earnings of poor classes of foreign born and white should be known; but should not the poverty of certain classes of the colored race also be a matter of some social concern? Aside from the hodcarriers, only 10.9 percent of the group earn a weekly wage of \$15 or over.

The last group of male wage earners, which includes workers from 10 to 16 years of age, may be conveniently divided into three classes. Approximately 35.0 per cent of the boys receive a wage of under \$5, 52.0 percent receive a wage of \$5 to \$7.50, and the remaining 13.0 percent a wage of \$7.50 to \$9.00.

In the women's group, 87.2 percent of the total number of workers receive a wage under \$7.50, 56.7 percent a wage under \$5. The laundresses and factory workers are included in these two wage groups. Within the wage limits,—\$10 to \$19,—10.9 percent of the women are found, consisting mostly of lodging and boarding housekeepers, and a large part of the professional class. The remaining 1.2 percent, receiving a weekly wage of \$19 and upwards, consists largely of teachers.

## 2. Discussion of Wage Limits.

In the final table on wages the total number of male wage-earners will be included. This table presents a bird's-eye view of the earnings of the negro men.

TABLE XIX.

## WAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE WAGE-EARNERS.

Average weekly wages under.....				Wage	Percent
"	"	"	"	\$10.00	19.2
"	"	"	"	12.00	46.8
"	"	"	"	13.50	69.1
"	"	"	"	15.00	78.0
"	"	"	"	18.00	87.3
"	"	"	"	20.00	90.9
"	"	"	"	25.00	99.2

There are no colored millionaires in St. Louis; at least diligent search failed to reveal them. Over three-fourths of the colored workers receive a weekly wage under \$15, and nearly one-half of them a wage under \$12. As was pointed out in a preceding paragraph, actual wages, if averaged for a month or a year, will be even less, because of loss of time through illness, unemployment, or similar circumstances.

This is the true setting in which the Negro's problem in the city should be considered. He is expected to buy homes, maintain decent standards, avoid entering the poorhouse, and keep out of jail. He is continually admonished to save his earnings, be sober, and become a better citizen; but if the above conditions are in any measure true, how can he? When will he ever own a home if he is restricted to certain undesirable sections of the city and finds it barely possible to pay the landlord? Much is being said of the negro home-owner, but investigation will show that home-owners are largely from the first three groups—the professional, the business and the clerical men. Is it so strange that the Negro stints his family budget to prepare for the future by taking out insurance, or becomes improvident through squandering a part of his earnings on clothes and finery or in the pleasures of the cup? It must be admitted that he should not be judged by high standards of living, and that he endures poverty with less pain than we think he does. Nevertheless there is suffering and pain, poverty and financial distress, which must be alleviated. It is of great social concern when a certain proportion of the people are weighted down by intolerable living conditions. They are a drag on the entire race, and progress is retarded until their economic condition is bettered.

## 3. Estimated Annual Income of the Colored Wage Earners.

It is an interesting calculation to compute the annual income of the negro wage-earning population of St. Louis. While an estimate of the sort can be only an approximation, it serves to show that the Negro is valuable industrially. Taking 300 days as a basis for a working year, the probable number of days of labor for each occupation was estimated. Conditions in the various occupations, and all available knowledge, were

used in computing the number of days per year that workers in various occupations were employed. Due allowance was made for seasonal occupations, sickness, holidays and other disturbing factors. The table here presented shows the probable annual earnings for groups as well as the total annual earnings.

TABLE XX.  
ESTIMATED ANNUAL EARNINGS OF ST. LOUIS COLORED PEOPLE.\*

Group	No.	Total Group Earnings
Professional .....	93.....	\$ 126,115.28
Business .....	304.....	252,500.00
Clerical .....	297.....	288,438.00
Personal Service.....	6,490.....	3,486,432.25
Artisan .....	514.....	310,957.50
Factory .....	3,524.....	2,278,577.50
Common Labor.....	5,050.....	2,897,797.50
Boys' .....	1,076.....	274,155.00
<hr/>		
Total Male .....	17,348.....	\$ 9,914,973.03
Women's .....	7,758.....	2,185,107.75
<hr/>		
Grand total.....		\$12,100,080.78

The estimated annual income from 17,348 colored male wage earners was nearly ten millions, for the 7,758 colored women wage earners approximately two and one-quarter million; the total for 25,106 workers being in round numbers twelve and one-tenth millions. It seems a reasonable estimate that St. Louis Negroes are earning at least 11 millions, and possibly in excess of twelve million dollars yearly. A fact worthy of note is the two and one-sixth million dollars contributed to the incomes by women workers. Only \$650,000.00, approximately, is earned by the mental toilers; namely, the members of the professional, business and clerical groups. There is no doubt that the great bulk of the income is earned by the masses who work by the day. It must naturally follow that at least nine-tenths and possibly a greater part of these incomes are spent for the necessities of life; food, clothing, rent, light, etc. This being true, a comparatively small percentage is available to be invested in business enterprises or used in buying homes. The estimated per capita income for colored wage earners computed on this basis would be about \$450. It is easy to see that a small increase in the cost of living would work great hardship on the colored masses, and push them nearer the poverty line.

#### 4. Labor Supply and Unemployment.

The statement is often made that a large percentage of unskilled workers are involuntarily idle at certain periods of the year. It must be granted that there are many seasonal occupations. These conditions work great hardship upon many unskilled workers. But on the other

\*See Appendix C for detailed tables showing estimated annual earnings in each occupation.

hand many other unskilled occupations continue throughout the year, and are never fully supplied with workers. The brick yards, lumber companies, iron and steel foundries, lead factories, coal yards and freight houses, have want advertisements in the papers throughout the year, and place standing orders with labor agencies for men. There is serious doubt as to whether unskilled seasonal occupations cause a very great amount of idleness. There is reason to believe that the artisan group, particularly the building laborers, suffers more from the seasonal character of their occupations, than do the unskilled laborers. This is the consensus of opinion of a number of the leading labor agents of the city, who are undoubtedly in close touch with actual labor conditions.

The Negroes are better prepared to weather adverse labor conditions than other elements in our population, although working as unskilled laborers. It would be hard to find a Negro who had not had considerable experience in at least two or three occupations. He has always been in the habit of varying his occupation as occasion demanded. Knowing conditions and the language and people of America, he obtains work more quickly and acquires greater technical knowledge than the ignorant foreigner. The writer has come upon hundreds of cases of such varied industrial experience. Many Negroes regularly dovetail occupations at certain seasons of the year. For instance, waiters who work ashore during the fall and winter, change to work on the river boats as waiters during the late spring and summer. Unskilled laborers, working out of doors during the summer, will go into the foundries during a rush call for men or when the cold weather sets in. According to the testimony of many Negroes, this change of occupation is not only satisfactory to them because of its diversity, but more profitable than if one occupation were followed continuously.

##### 5. Work Record and Means of Securing Employment.

Although the Negro is better able to provide work for himself than his foreign born co-workers, this does not necessarily mean that he is restless and will not follow an occupation for a reasonable period of time. Some interesting data were secured from the records of the State Free Employment Bureau bearing directly on the work record of the Negro. The data are not sufficiently extensive to warrant a general conclusion, but furnish many valuable sidelights on the Negro's industrial history. The colored workers applying for work are practically all from the unskilled occupations, such as cooks, porters, waiters, manual laborers among the men; and laundresses, chambermaids, scrubwomen, cooks, among the women. This class of labor is probably the least reliable, and a reasonably good showing here would indicate the general dependability of the negro worker. Schedules numbering 104 and showing the period of previous employment, age, causes of idleness, and the work desired were tabulated with the following results:

TABLE XXI.

## LENGTH OF TIME EMPLOYED.

	1 mo. to 3 mo.	3 mo. to 6 mo.	6 mo. to 1 yr.	1 yr. to 2 yr.	2 yr. to 3 yr.	3 yr. to 4 yr.	4 yr. to 5 yr.	5 yr. and over	Total
Male .....	24	20	9	5	8	3	1	3	73
Female ....	8	12	1	5	3	1	....	1	31

One-third (24) of the colored males had been employed at their present position less than 3 months, 29 from 3 months to 1 year; the remainder, or 20, from 1 year to 5 years. The fact that two-thirds of these colored applicants kept their previous positions less than 6 months does not necessarily imply that they were discharged or refused to work. Much of the work performed by these men, while plentiful, is not continuous.

TABLE XXII.

## AGE OF NEGRO APPLICANTS.

	Under 20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40 and older	Not reporting	Total
Male .....	5	17	17	15	9	8	2	73
Females ..	5	13	6	4	2	1	....	31

The table shows that the great majority of both sexes applying for work are from 20 to 35 years of age. This distribution is such as would be expected. The former occupations of colored female applicants were: 8 cooks, 16 housekeepers, 4 chambermaids, 2 laundresses, 2 hotel maids, 1 factory workers, 1 scrubwoman.\* The former occupations of colored males were: 3 railway porters, 3 meat packers, 1 barber, 6 cooks, 32 porters, 2 chauffeurs, 2 waiters, 9 butlers, a teamster, a boiler fireman, and 13 others. With few exceptions they applied for work in the same occupations which they had been following. Causes of idleness are shown in the table below.

TABLE XXIII.

## CAUSES OF IDLENESS AMONG COLORED APPLICANTS.

	Dis- charged	No Work	Quit	Change Wanted	Sickness	Left City	All Others
Male .....	21	12	13	8	5	3	11
Female ....	7	3	5	4	2	2	8

If the Negro were as unreliable as is often alleged there would be a larger showing in the "discharged" column. And some of these discharges were after a long period of service, which fact would not, necessarily, suggest inefficiency on the part of the worker. Fifteen were laid off on account of "no work," 18 quit their positions, 12 wished a change. Very few were sick or left the city. The above figures were taken from the lower grade of workers, where unreliability and shiftlessness would most probably be found. The record, though for a very small group, is most favorable to the Negro.

The method of obtaining employment is another factor worthy of consideration. The largest number of colored workers are doubtless placed

\*There is duplication here in some cases due to the fact that some applicants gave two previous occupations.

through the aid of friends, relatives, or acquaintances who hear of work or find vacancies at their own place of employment. Another valuable medium of securing employment is the daily newspaper. In the "Want" column, advertisements for negro help can always be found. Many of the labor agencies of the city place negro help both in St. Louis and elsewhere. A canvass was made of the principal labor agencies with the following results:

TABLE XXIV.  
ST. LOUIS LABOR AGENCIES PLACING COLORED PEOPLE.

Agency	Number or Percentage of Negroes Among Those Placed	Where Placed	Opinions	Fee paid by
Michel Labor Agency.....	2 to 5 percent	Out of City	No preference	Employer
Model Agency.....	5 to 6 percent	In and Out of City	Prefer Negro	Free
Fidelity Labor Supply Co.	Small percent.	In St. Louis	Against Negro	Negro
Griswold Labor Agency..	"	" "	" "	"
Koenig Labor Agency....	200 per mo.	Out of City	For Negro	Negro and Employer
National Agency.....	"	" "	" "	Negro and Employer
State Free Employment B.	73 males in a year	In St. Louis	No discrim- ination	Free

The table plainly shows that comparatively few Negroes are placed in St. Louis by labor agencies, most of those placed, being sent out of the city. The small number of Negroes placed by the State Free Employment Bureau is doubtless due to the ignorance on the part of the colored people as to the existence of such an institution. Labor agents say the Negro works well, much better than the average floater. One of the two agents, not preferring Negroes, was plainly prejudiced against that race, seemingly without sufficient reason. Besides the above agencies, the Colored Young Men's Christian Association and some half dozen smaller agencies place colored workers here and there. There is great need for a strong employment bureau operated by colored men who know the rank and file of colored workers and who are acquainted with local conditions. White employes would welcome and co-operate with such an agency. In the final chapter, dealing with a practical program of industrial betterment, what other cities have done will be shown and suggestions will be made for a similar venture in St. Louis.

It should not be thought that the colored race is the only poverty stricken element in our population. As a race colored people are less independent than other races. But conditions similar to those just mentioned exist among the Italians, Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Austrians, and other nationalities of unskilled workers, though in a lesser degree. With few exceptions the employer of unskilled labor cares little about the color of a man's skin as long as the brawn is there. The wages paid are the same and discrimination enters only when there is opportunity to enter work of a higher grade. The demand for unskilled labor is fairly constant and an unskilled laborer may obtain employment at any period of the year. But the smallness of the wages and the conditions of labor are the factor



which work hardship upon him. Possibly the time may come when a minimum wage for unskilled laborers will be established. Emphasis is laid on the fact that the colored race receive very low wages, and are a body of unskilled workers. Other races engaging in the same work are economically as hard pressed, but have a better chance to rise.

## CHAPTER III

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### NEGRO MEN IN THE PROFESSIONS AND IN BUSINESS

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#### A. PROFESSIONS.

This chapter deals with the negro men in the professions, in business, and in clerical work. The members of these groups earn their livelihood by mental toil. This will distinguish them from the negro wage earners in the next chapter, who make their living largely by physical labor. The mental toilers constitute but 4 percent of the entire negro population. However, they are of great importance because they are the leaders of the colored race. The professions will first be considered because they represent the highest group in the economic scale. Teachers, ministers, physicians, lawyers and dentists comprise this group, ranking in numbers in the order named.

##### 1. Teachers.

The male teachers number 29, and are either of high school rank, or principals of the various colored graded schools. They are men of high educational attainments, who have had successful careers in school work. St. Louis is noted for its efficient school system and makes no exception in the case of the colored school. Many of the negro men have received advanced degrees, two of them holding doctorates. Almost every large university in the country has graduated a St. Louis colored teacher. A few of the schools from which degrees are held, are: the Universities of Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, Michigan, Cornell, Pennsylvania and Ohio. Others hold degrees from: Leland Stanford, Illinois, Northwestern, Cincinnati, Purdue, Carlsruhe, Germany; Oberlin College, Wabash College, Fiske, Denver, Alcorn, Denison and Lincoln. The others are graduates from normal school and high schools of the country. With very few exceptions they have been engaged in teaching for a number of years in St. Louis as the following table indicates:

TABLE XXV.

LENGTH OF PRACTICE OF COLORED PROFESSIONAL MEN  
IN ST. LOUIS.

Professions	Under 1 yr	1-5 yrs.	5-10 yrs.	10-15 yrs.	15-20 yrs.	20-25 yrs.	25 Years & over
Teachers.....	5	5	6	3	3	....	7
Physicians*..	2	8	2	2	2	4	1
Dentists.....	....	....	4	1	....	....	2
Lawyers.....	2	3	1	1	3	....	1
Total.....	9	16	13	7	8	4	11

\*Two unaccounted for.

The colored teachers are fairly entitled to every privilege and benefit accorded white teachers of the same rank. The systems of instruction, manual training equipment, courses of study, and standards of scholarship and pay for teachers are exactly the same for both white and colored schools. If a new department of training or instruction is opened in the white schools the same is done for the colored schools. Colored teachers let no opportunity pass to maintain a standard of efficiency equal to that of the white schools. They are the best paid people of the colored race as the accompanying wage scale shows. The range of salary is from \$88 to \$320 per month.

TABLE XXVI.

MONTHLY SALARY OF COLORED MALE TEACHERS  
IN ST. LOUIS.

Per month.....	\$320	\$300	\$270	\$200	\$180	\$170	\$164	\$152	\$150	\$146
High School Instructors..	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	0	1
Grade School Teachers...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Principals and Special Instructors.....	0	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	1	0
Per month.....	\$145	\$140	\$136	\$124	\$120	\$118	\$112	\$98	\$92	\$88
High School Instructors..	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Grade School Teachers...	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Principals and Special Instructors.....	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0

The salaries stated in this table are paid for 10 months in the year.

Besides the regular school principals and instructors a supervisor of music and physical culture is provided. One can hardly overestimate the power and influence that these men and women might wield. The teachers here are doing much along these lines, from which good results will accrue.

## 2. Ministers.

To account for the members of the ministerial calling correctly offers certain difficulties. Though there are probably 65 churches or congregations, every leader is not rightly classified as a minister. Considerable time was spent in making a comprehensive investigation of the clergy, because

their status is a frequent question of dispute. Investigation accounted for 41 out of a possible 65 churches. Five other churches were found. Two had disbanded, or there was no church building; from 3 no information could be procured. This left 41 churches, or two-thirds of the estimated number. The writer believes that all the principal churches were included. Those remaining were missions or small gatherings scarcely important enough to be called churches. Data concerning the church as well as the minister was collected, in order that useful comparisons might be made. The table here presented must be considered as approximate and not exact.

TABLE XXVII.

MEMBERS AND MEMBERSHIP, COST AND DEBT OF ST. LOUIS  
COLORED CHURCHES.

Denomination	No. of Ministers		Members		Av. Attendance		First Cost	
	Principal Churches	Total	Principal Churches	Total	Principal Churches	Total	Principal Churches	Total
Baptist	12	22	8,369	9,008	3,995	4,181	\$183,650	\$196,550
Methodist	8	13	5,040	5,099	3,320	3,418	137,900	167,500
Presbyterian	1	2	210	210	150	150	10,000	10,000
Christian	1	1	85	85	20	20	1,700	1,700
Episcopalian	1	1	500	500	300	300	35,000	35,000
Catholic	*	1	2,500	2,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
All others	..	1	25	25	28	28	.....	.....
Total	23	41	16,729	17,427	7,813	8,097	\$368,250	\$410,750

Denomination	Improvements		Present Value		Debt		Relief	
	Principal Churches	Total	Principal Churches	Total	Principal Churches	Total	Principal Churches	Total
Baptist	\$18,530	\$22,963	\$334,500	\$346,700	\$57,350	\$59,460	\$1,510	\$1,595
Methodist	11,500	11,500	216,000	218,000	23,200	23,425	1,450	1,450
Presbyterian	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,000	5,000	.....	.....
Christian	250	250	2,500	2,500	600	600	.....	.....
Episcopalian	5,000	5,000	65,000	65,000	none	none	.....	.....
Catholic	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
All others	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	\$35,280	\$39,713	\$618,000	\$632,200	\$86,150	\$88,485	\$2,960	\$3,045

\*White priest.  
3 no data.  
2 disbanded.

\*The Federation News, published by the Church Federation of St. Louis, for March, 1914, gives the total number of churches as 64 and of members, excluding the Catholics, as 14,879. The only important difference is in the number of Baptist Churches; the Federation News gives 43, this report 22. Curiously enough while the total number of Baptist members here given is slightly over 9,000, the News gives but 7,300. On the whole the two investigations agree so nearly as to furnish strong evidence of the exactness of this investigation.

The combined negro church membership is 17,427, or approximately 40 percent of the entire negro population; the average attendance is about 8000, or one-half the membership. The first cost of church buildings and parsonages was \$410,750.00, of improvements \$39,713.00, and the present value is \$632,200.00. These properties are encumbered to the amount of \$88,485.00, or about 14 percent of their present valuation. Very few of the churches are heavily encumbered, and none are mortgaged for as much as half of their present value. Five churches have been established for over 60 years, the oldest church being the First Baptist, which has been in existence 86 years. Four have been in existence from 40 to 50 years, ten from 25 to 40 years, 2 from 10 to 25 years, and 12 were established within the last ten years. The significant conclusion here is, that the negro churches are permanent institutions with long experience and settled traditions. They were well established long before there was any great growth of business. The combined valuation of colored churches exceeds two and a half times the value of colored business enterprises. However, indications seem to show that future church growth will not be as rapid as commercial growth; and within the next decade the proportion may become nearly equal. If, to the valuation of churches, we add the valuation of lodge buildings, and Christian Associations, this combined figure is three times as large as the estimated capital of business enterprises.

In deciding which individuals should be considered ministers, the amount of salary was made the determining factor. Since those getting less than \$450 were unlikely to devote their entire time to the service of the church, they were not included as ministers. Only 23 were found who received a yearly salary in excess of this amount. In the above table the statistics for the churches of the twenty-three ministers receiving \$450 annually and upwards were recorded.\* It is evident that the bulk of both property and membership belongs to these 23 churches. They really represent the true church strength of the Negroes in St. Louis. The other 20 are small missions, with memberships as low as 8 or 10; have for their pastor one of their own members, and rent a hall or vacant room in which to hold services.

Very few of the ministers are well paid; in fact, they are the most poorly paid of all professional workers. This may be due to the fact that, as a class, they do not rank as high professionally as other members of the group. Only 8 ministers get \$1,000 or more, and the highest salary paid is \$1,800. Greater efforts were expended to secure a handsome house of worship than to retain a worthy minister. This is not meant to apply to some five or six ministers of the larger churches, for they are men of marked ability and are accomplishing great things in their field. However taken as a class, the foregoing statement applies. There are a large number of exhorters of meager education and training, who could not qualify for better pastorates than those which they now occupy. A glance at the table shows that the Baptists have the most churches and pastors. Other denominations have fewer churches with comparatively large followings. The church edifices are beautiful and costly, and one often wonders how a race so near the poverty line could erect and maintain such beautiful structures. Some have been bought cheaply from white congregations who have moved

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\*These are the "Principal Churches."

to more fashionable districts, and a few have been erected by the colored people directly.

The preachers exercise a powerful influence over their congregations, this being especially true of the less educated of their flock. Their opportunity for service to the race is extraordinary. If larger numbers of ministers would preach race progress and race ethics, advancement would be more rapid. Church doctrines will always be essential to pulpit preaching; but along with these some sound, practical sermons on co-operation and faith in each other would not come amiss. There is no end to what might be accomplished if the more influential ministers would begin to preach thrift, higher economic standards and co-operation. There are a few colored ministers who have the social viewpoint, and it is hoped that more will follow their example.

### 3. Physicians.

The medical profession is very well represented among St. Louis Negroes. There are 23 registered colored physicians, all practicing among their own race. Many have been established for ten years, a few have practiced for 20 years. Several new men have located in St. Louis within the last five years. Their practice is almost wholly limited to colored people, but occasionally a white patient from the poorer classes engages their services. The colored practitioners attend hardly half of the total number of patients of their race. Medical clinics and free dispensaries are largely patronized by Negroes since paid medical service is almost out of the reach of the poorest classes. A conservative estimate of the proportion of negro patients who come to colored physicians would be 50 percent. And, according to the testimony of physicians, this percentage is increasing every year. Colored patients are gaining more and more confidence in practitioners of their race. There is great opportunity for these men to improve the health of their race by teaching hygienic living, insisting on sanitary and healthful dwellings, and agitating the subject of more adequate facilities for recreation. And here it must be said that St. Louis can boast of a number of colored physicians and surgeons who are easily the peers not only of their brethren in other cities, but of many of the white physicians in St. Louis. However, they are not allowed to use the clinics of the medical schools of the city, but are forced to be content with the less adequate facilities of their own Provident Hospital. Colored medical students are not allowed to pursue a course of medicine in any state or private school in Missouri. It is a manifest injustice that local colored young men of promise are forced to go out of the state to secure adequate professional training. St. Louis has done her part in providing fine public schools, but the state stands convicted of gross neglect in failing to provide the higher training. The only institution in the state providing advanced courses beyond the high school is Lincoln Institute, which offers courses in manual training, agriculture and elocution only. As in the case of the dentists and lawyers, physicians have received their education either in northern white schools or southern colored schools. Meharry Medical College has graduated 9, and Harvard University 5, of the colored physicians in St. Louis. The universities of Chicago, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Northwestern, Shaw have one graduate each. Like members of the other professions, they do not change, but

locate permanently in some city. Five physicians have been here 20 years or more, 2 for 15 years, 2 for 10 to 15 years, 2 for 5 to 10 years. However, the great increase in numbers has been in the last five years, ten new negro doctors having located in St. Louis within that time. The incomes of the physicians range from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per year, with a probable average of about \$1,500. The colored physicians have formed a local organization called the Mound City Medical Society, to consider problems of the profession and race health. Most of them believe that a measure of progress is being realized in their profession.

#### 4. Dentists.

The negro dentists, numbering seven, have each a growing practice. The members of the profession estimate that they do not get over half of the colored patients, but believe that the percentage is increasing. Their opportunity of getting the business among the colored people is better than the opportunities of the negro doctors. Colored people are not treated at any of the college dental clinics of the city, except for the extraction of teeth. And as efficient white dentists will not risk the loss of their white patrons for the small number of colored patients who might come, the colored people are forced to go to members of their own race for treatment. More often the colored man neglects treatment altogether until suffering drives him to the dental chair. Probably the Negro, like the poor in general, neglects his physical welfare because of lack of education or finances. Each of the colored dentists has a few white patients. One, having been long established, treats a considerable number of whites. The offices are equipped with modern apparatus, and are neat and sanitary. There can be no foundation for the idea that colored practitioners are unable to give adequate service. An unerring index to this preparedness is the school training and length of practice. One graduated from Northwestern University, probably as high an institution in the dental world as there is in the United States. Two each studied at Meharry Dental School of Walden University, Tennessee, and Howard University, Washington, D. C., recognized as the best colored schools in the country. Ohio State University graduated one colored dentist. The remaining practitioners learned the profession as an apprentice, but investigation showed that the course pursued had been long and thorough. Two dentists have practiced in St. Louis for 23 and 17 years respectively, one for 10 years, the remaining four for 5 years or less. The majority located here as soon as they graduated, or within a few years thereafter. It might be mentioned again that no colored professional students are admitted to either state or private schools. The incomes of the different men could not be definitely ascertained, but the consensus of opinion was that \$1,800 would be a safe average for the seven dentists. This makes it the highest paid occupation in which colored people are engaged.

#### 5. Lawyers.

The remaining members of the professional group are the lawyers. The eleven men who follow the law as a profession confine most of their practice to the lower courts. They assert, that, while only about one-half of the legal business of their race is performed by them, their clientele is *increasing*. Judges are generally fair to them though there have been cases

of discrimination. The truth of the matter was well expressed by one member of the profession when he said that the judge who would discriminate against him for reasons of color would be small enough to discriminate against white lawyers in favor of his own gang. The lawyer is at a greater disadvantage than men of other professions. He has to compete with fourth rate white lawyers who are willing to take any case that comes to their notice. A large majority of the Negroes seem to think that white lawyers have more influence with the court than do their colored brethren. There are no rich men or large industrial undertakings financed by colored people which would furnish litigation or legal business. Consequently the field in which the colored lawyers may exercise their talents is very limited. Many of them devote a part of their time to newspaper work, real estate or insurance. The discrimination against colored law students is of the same nature as that exercised against colored medical and dental students, although Washington University graduated a colored man from its Law School over a decade ago. The present members of the profession are graduates of Ann Arbor, Howard, Fiske, Meharry, University of Texas and two are self-made men. As to the length of practice, four have been practicing 15 years, one from 10 to 15 years, one from 5 to 10 years, and the remainder, less than five years. The number of negro lawyers will not increase for some time because, apparently, the maximum number for the size of population has been reached. A slight amount of legal work is done by an undertaker, a real estate dealer and an insurance agent, who act as notaries public.

#### 6. Summary.

The professions among colored people in St. Louis, as a general statement, are represented by able, cultured men. Because of their standing and position they wield a large influence for good among their race. There is yet much room for active leadership, which will doubtless come in time. They will rank most favorably with men in the same professions among the white races. Notwithstanding certain limitations placed on them professionally, they still have a large field in which to work. There is one physician for every 2,000 Negroes, one dentist for every 5,500, one lawyer for every 4,000, and one minister for every 2,000. The teachers will never lack for young to educate; there is much sickness among the colored people and a great need of health improvement in the race; there will be an increasing demand for dental treatment; people will continue to need the services of lawyers to avoid trouble and litigation; and the clergy have a field which will challenge their utmost powers. The outlook for professional men ought to be encouraging, because of the possibilities that lie in the future and the substantial advance that has already been made.

#### B. THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS.

We now turn to a discussion of the Negro in business. For many reasons success in this field is much more difficult to attain than success in the professions or trades. On the one hand is the keen competition of white merchants who offer every inducement to win colored patronage away from the colored merchant, and on the other hand, the distrust with which a large proportion of colored people look upon members of their



own race. A further fact is that the colored race is largely in poverty. A large proportion of colored people can buy little more than the necessities of life, making it difficult for the colored business man to attain any large measure of success. The nearest competitor of the Negro is the Jew and the Greek, who try to underbid and undersell him, using every means to attract colored trade away from his establishment. The Negro has had no chance to acquire training in business except in the school of experience. Lack of trade training is a most serious handicap to the colored business man. Most of the successful colored business men of St. Louis have started as common laborers and have risen to their present position by long years of painstaking effort and hard work. They have made their opportunities, amassed their capital, built up their trade; and these achievements, which are among the most enviable of the race, are in every respect due to their personal efforts and abilities. With handicaps which would dishearten the average merchant, with little business experience, meager capital, keen competition, unsteady patronage of their own race, they have succeeded in spite of these things. It is a great pleasure to record their achievements.

#### 1. Number and Diversity of Negro Business Enterprises.

The diversity of business enterprises speaks well for the negro entrepreneur. About 36 different kinds of business are now being carried on. This number might be increased to 40 if various enterprises were included. A dancing academy run by a colored man seems to be doing a flourishing business. The hall is rented, and dances, entertainments and recitals are staged more or less frequently. The investigator was told that a colored man had worked up quite a business by buying old newspapers and shipping them away, but diligent search failed to reveal his whereabouts. The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. might be considered business enterprises as they lodge people and furnish employment. However, it was thought best to record only those businesses which required the entire time of the owner. The list appearing in the table contains every large business, and possible omissions are too small to be of any great consequence.

TABLE XXVIII.  
NUMBER OF COLORED ENTERPRISES, EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYES.

Class of Establishment	Establishments	Proprietors	Employees
Undertakers .....	5	7	45
Steam Laundry .....	1	2	35
Poro Hair College.....	1	1	21
Drug Stores.....	5	7	9
Men's Furnishing Goods.....	1	2	2
Dry Goods Store.....	1	1	1
Second-Hand Clothing Store.....	1	1	2
Second-Hand Furniture Store.....	2	2	2
Groceries .....	10	10	8
Tea and Coffee Store.....	1	1	3
Jewelry Shop .....	1	1	2
Florist .....	1	1	1
Photo Galleries.....	2	2	2
Newspapers .....	2	3	16
Printing Shops.....	3	3	10
Tailor Shops.....	3	3	4
Locksmith Shops.....	1	1	1
Automobile School.....	1	1	1
Hospital .....	1	*1	10
Insurance Company.....	1	†	3
Real Estate Dealers.....	3	4	1
Contractors .....	2	2	....
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>179</b>
Hotels .....	3	3	12
Restaurants .....	25	20	75
Saloons .....	22	25	25
Pool Rooms.....	30	33	15
Theatres and Odeons.....	3	3	30
Barber Shops.....	40	47	100
Bakeries .....	1	1	1
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>258</b>
Blacksmith Shops.....	2	3	....
Upholstering Shop.....	1	1	....
Pressing and Cleaning Shops.....	24	24	....
Shoe-Shining Parlors.....	10	10	8
Shoe Repair Shops.....	2	2	1
Dray Lines .....	15	15	10
Storage Company.....	1	1	3
Ice and Coal Dealers.....	60	60	10
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Grand total.....</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>304</b>	<b>469</b>

\*Hospital in charge of several Trustees.

†Proprietors of Insurance Company recorded in other fields of business.

Any class division on the basis of similarity for the above businesses is hard to obtain. In the first division are put all the larger well-established enterprises, which one would commonly think of as business enterprises. In the second group the hotels and restaurants, saloons, theatres, and odeons, poolrooms and bakeries are classed together. In the remaining group are found the smaller businesses which are less important. The first division includes 49 enterprises, the second 124, and the third 115. As will presently be shown, the greatest gains have been made in the first two. The diversity of occupations in the first class shows that none of these fields of business have been overcrowded, that colored entrepreneurs have not flocked to one business because a few of their race had achieved success in that line. Only in the last two groups do we find overcrowding in any line. There are too many barber shops, express and hauling lines, poolrooms, ice and coal stations, pressing and cleaning shops. It is seriously doubted whether any of these lines of business has made any appreciable gains, while there is evidence that some of them are declining. These enterprises can never grow to any considerable size; nor offer any great commercial future. They are only useful as a stepping stone to some other line of business which has in it possibilities of greater success. Numerically the barber shops, pool-halls, coal and ice establishments, dray lines, pressing and cleaning establishments constitute over one-half of the total number of enterprises.

## 2. Comparison with Colored Enterprises of Other Cities.

The following table compares the number of business enterprises managed by Negroes in St. Louis with those in Philadelphia and New York City. The list of business enterprises for Philadelphia was compiled by Dr. W. E. B. Dubois ten years ago, when Philadelphia's colored population was about the same size as the present colored population of St. Louis. The New York figures are the most accurate and recent, having been compiled in 1911, by Dr. George E. Haynes.

TABLE XXIX.  
COLORED ENTERPRISES IN NORTHERN CITIES.

Class of Establishment	St. Louis	New York <sup>1</sup>	Philadelphia <sup>2</sup>
Undertaking Establishments.....	5	11	6
Steam Laundry.....	1	....	1
Poro Hair College.....	1	....	....
Drug Stores.....	5	....	1
Men's Furnishing Goods.....	1	....	....
Dry Goods Store.....	1	....	....
Second-Hand Clothing Store.....	1	....	....
Second-Hand Furniture Store....	2	....	5
Groceries .....	10	36	19
Jewelry Shop.....	1	2	1
Tea and Coffee Store.....	1	1	....
Florist Shop.....	1	....	1
Photo Galleries .....	2	1	....
Newspapers .....	2	....	3
Printing Shops.....	3	5	2
Tailor Shops .....	3	24	....
Locksmith and Auto School.....	2	....	....
Hospital .....	1	....	....
Insurance Company .....	1	....	....
Real Estate Dealers.....	3	....	....
Contractors .....	2	....	....
Hotels .....	3	17	1
Restaurants .....	25	26	66
Saloons .....	22	5	2
Pool rooms.....	30	10	1
Theaters and Odeons.....	3	....	....
Barber Shops.....	40	50	73
Bakeries .....	1	2	....
Blacksmith Shops.....	2	....	1
Upholstering Shops.....	1	2	9
Pressing and Cleaning.....	24	....	....
Shoe-Shining Parlor.....	10	5	1
Shoe Repair Shops.....	2	6	17
Dray Lines.....	15	12	7
Storage Company .....	1	1	....
Ice and Coal Dealers.....	60	19	8
Cigar Stores.....	....	3	16
Candies and Notions.....	....	....	3
Patent Medicine Stores.....	....	....	2
Harness Shop.....	....	....	1
Decorator and Paperhanger.....	....	1	1
Miscellaneous .....	....	56	18
Employment Agencies.....	....	14	....
Total.....	288	309	266

<sup>1</sup>Haynes' Table, p. 99 and Note 1.<sup>2</sup>Dubois: Philadelphia Negro, pp. 122, 124, 125.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the table is that St. Louis colored entrepreneurs are engaged in more lines of business than are found in any other city. If size and population are taken into consideration, St. Louis Negroes exceed in diversity and numbers of enterprises. New York with 90,000 colored people has only 309<sup>†</sup> enterprises largely grouped in a few fields of business, while St. Louis with half the colored population has about 288 enterprises, distributed in more fields of business. Taking up particular enterprises, New York and Philadelphia seem to have more grocery stores, restaurants, barber shops and hotels, than St. Louis, population considered. However, St. Louis has more drug stores, dry goods stores, furnishing goods stores, tailor shops, theaters, photograph galleries, saloons, than other cities. In fact some of these enterprises are not to be found in other cities. New York has no steam laundry, ‡Poro college, no dry goods or furnishing goods store, no florist shop, theater or automobile school, with a negro proprietor. Philadelphia has no dry goods store, furnishing goods store, jewelry, tea and coffee, florist establishments, photograph gallery, theaters or odeons owned by colored men. All of these are found in St. Louis. New York has more employment agencies, cigar stores, garages, hardware stores with negro proprietors than either St. Louis or Philadelphia. Philadelphia has a patent medicine company, harness shop, candy store, crockery shop, mineral water dealer and meat wholesaler, with a colored owner; these enterprises are not found in either St. Louis or New York. Those enterprises classed as miscellaneous do not greatly differ in any of the cities. The total number of enterprises for the cities are New York 309, St. Louis 288, Philadelphia 266. Every city had a few colored enterprises which were not found in other cities. From the present records it appears that St. Louis had a greater diversity and a greater number of colored enterprises, than any other city, population considered. As a general statement, the establishment of business has not depended so much on the size of the colored population, trade conditions or opportunity as upon the business men themselves.

### 3. Number Engaged in Enterprises.

The number of proprietors engaged in business totals 304, which, if compared with the number of enterprises, indicates that there are firms supporting a partnership. Three of the undertaking establishments, the steam laundry, a drug store, a men's furnishing goods store, a newspaper, a real estate company, several barber shops, one odeon, and one blacksmith shop, all have two or more proprietors. There are also a number of men who finance more than one enterprise. One colored man has five restaurants, an undertaker is interested in the steam laundry and other enterprises, a druggist manages two drug stores, several colored men have two barber shops, a saloon keeper also operates a pool-hall and dray line. Many express and hauling companies also sell coal and ice and second-hand furniture; a printer is interested in a lodge and an insurance company. A few men were found who had business interests outside of the city. The tendency of those whose enterprises are already well established is to embark on new ventures with the surplus saved. Many Negroes in

<sup>†</sup>Dr. Haynes believes there are about 475 bona fide enterprises in New York.

<sup>‡</sup>School for treatment of Negroes' hair.

St. Louis have come to the point where returns from their business are large and steady and within the next decade these men will certainly establish new business enterprises. It is in the Negro's favor that he forms few partnerships and succeeds singlehanded. The energy and ability of those who have succeeded cannot be doubted. In these enterprises there are employed 469 Negroes. Added to this, the 304 proprietors make the total of those engaged in business 773, or almost three people to each establishment.

The contrast between these figures and those of the survey made in 1902 by Miss Brandt, is very striking. A decade ago there were only 75 establishments, 121 proprietors, and 339 employees, or a total of 460 persons engaged in business. The number of people per establishment was six, but this is explained when we note that only the larger enterprises were recorded. The list is confessedly incomplete.

TABLE XXX.  
SURVEY OF ST. LOUIS COLORED BUSINESS ENTERPRISES  
IN 1902.\*

Class of Establishment	Establishment	Proprietors	No. of Employees	Capital
Undertakers .....	2	4	23	.....
Druggists .....	2	5	6	\$ 3,500
Grocers .....	7	36	15	8,400
Saloons .....	11	13	48	17,000
Restaurants .....	8	9	36	3,400
Paperhangers .....	2	3	5	800
Expressmen .....	2	3	7	1,600
Contractors .....	1	1	27	.....
Coal and Ice Dealers..	7	10	20	5,300
Barbers .....	15	16	95	19,400
Cigar Manufacturers....	2	2	4	700
Veterinary Surgeons..	1	1	15	700
Miscellaneous .....	15	18	38	5,850
Totals.....	75	121	**339	\$66,650

Some of the larger enterprises at present employ many times the general average, as the steam laundry, 34; Poro College, 25; undertaking establishments, 5 to 11 men; theater, 25; St. Louis Delicatessen Company, 53; printing shops, 5 each; drug stores, 7; newspapers, 12. Many enterprises furnish work for four, three and two persons respectively. Only among the smaller business is the proprietor unaided by employees. In a preceding paragraph mention was made of the smaller lines of business constituting half of the total number of enterprises. In totalling up the number of workers engaged, it was found that only one-third of the total number of workers devoted their attention to these smaller enterprises. In other words two-thirds of those engaged in business are employed by

\*Publication of the American Statistical Association, Vol. VIII, p. 236.

\*\*The original table carries a total of 329, a manifest error. It seems probable that the mistake is in the ascribing of 15 employees to the veterinary surgeon rather than in the total, however.

less than half the number of enterprises. This showing is an important index to the size and importance of St. Louis business enterprises.

#### 4. Length of Time in Business.

Let us next consider the length of time these enterprises have been in operation. This is essential if we are to come to any conclusion concerning commercial growth. Has the Negro struggled on over a long period of years to success, or have most of the successful enterprises been established within a short period of time, and, in the light of the past, what sort of a prediction about future commercial progress might be made? It was surprising that many of those engaged in business did not, or could not, give the correct date when they became entrepreneurs. Out of some 80 enterprises from which information was obtained, only 59, or about three-fourths, had exact records. But this is of more value than one might suppose, as most of the records are from the larger enterprises. In the following table is recorded the length of time in business:

TABLE XXXI.

LENGTH OF TIME IN BUSINESS OF 59 COLORED ENTERPRISES

Years	Under	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	19	20	35	40
No. Enterprises,		9	5	8	5	1	6	1	2	1	1	2	4	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	1

Only 18 enterprises were found which had been established longer than ten years. They comprised three undertaking establishments, Poro College, 3 drug stores, a jewelry store, a tea and coffee store, a real estate company, photograph gallery, a tailor shop, a hospital, 2 barber shops, a second-hand furniture store, a pressing and cleaning establishment, and a shoe repair shop. Out of the 59 enterprises 7 had been established from 5 to 10 years, consisting of 2 undertaking establishments, a grocery, a printing shop, photograph gallery, a second-hand clothing store and a furniture store. Of those remaining, 34 have been established within the last five years.\* All of the principal lines of business have received additions within this time, and the additions are among the most substantial of all. The number of business enterprises has grown rapidly within the last two or three years, and within the last year 9 new enterprises have been launched. As the enterprises from which these records were obtained are representative of the entire group, having among them most of the large enterprises, it is not unfair to conclude that these facts are probably typical of the group. In the old established lines of business, such as barber shops, pool-rooms, dray lines, ice and coal stations, pressing and cleaning establishments, growth in numbers may have been less rapid. Further evidence may be presented by comparing the above table with the one made by Miss Lillian Brandt in 1902. She found 75 enterprises, 3 of which the above table does not classify as businesses. Although the table for 1902 is not complete, it gives an excellent general idea of the few substantial enterprises at that time.

\*Cf. Miss Brandt's writing in 1902.

Of these 75 enterprises 27 have been established in the last year, and only 9 were in existence in 1890. The disposition on the part of the Negroes to patronize their own race is growing, and affords a reason for believing that there is room for further development along this line of individual undertakings. Am. Stat. Assn., Vol. VIII, p. 237.

Time and again in conversation with colored entrepreneurs the investigator had impressed upon him, that the rise of the Negro in business dated from the World's Fair held in St. Louis in 1904. Before that time the Negroes managed very few substantial businesses. They were largely engaged in personal service. St. Louis itself was hardly more than a southern city. Colored people owned very few homes before the Fair, according to many Negroes of long residence. The Fair attracted large numbers of Negroes to St. Louis, many of them men of business acumen and ability who seized the opportunities to embark in business ventures. Negroes being forced to move by the influx of other peoples, principally foreign whites, began in earnest to accumulate property. Reference to the distribution of colored districts will show that colored people have located in the very heart of the city. Only within the last decade have the St. Louis colored people begun to progress rapidly and accomplish large things. Indications are that the more recent the inception of colored business enterprises the greater the rate of progress.

Another bit of evidence, which the investigator regrets cannot be shown statistically, is the age of the colored business men. The majority are young, between the ages of 30 and 55. St. Louis colored people are especially fortunate in having a set of comparatively young business men who in all probability will continue actively in business for 20 to 25 years. Time alone will tell how much this will mean to the commercial progress of St. Louis colored people. With their enterprises substantially established these men being in their prime will reach out for new fields to conquer. There is no room for pessimism here. The rate of increase in the number of business enterprises will not lessen, for colored men from the south or elsewhere will be attracted, and local colored business men, using their surplus funds, will establish other enterprises. Just as the study was being finished the investigator learned of four new fields of business, which different colored men were contemplating entering. The field is large and a colored newcomer will doubtless receive a hearty welcome, at least from his comrades in business.

##### 5. Business Capital.

The argument is often put forth that one of the reasons why colored men are not engaged in business more extensively is because of lack of capital. This is, in a large measure, true of any race. However, too much emphasis has doubtless been put upon this obstacle to business success. Many of the successful business men of the last generation have started with practically nothing, except brains and a dogged determination to succeed. It is regretted that evidence from a larger number of colored entrepreneurs could not have been presented. But information for the most important enterprises only was gathered. In the cases of smaller enterprises many proprietors were unable to tell when, or with what capital, they started, or what capital they have invested at the present time. Very few refused to divulge the information if they were able to give it. Thirty-eight establishments gave the amount of capital originally invested as well as the present capital. The amount of capital at the beginning for these establishments totaled \$9,582.00, and the present capital of these same enterprises was \$73,970, or an increase of 672 percent. The element of time



undoubtedly enters here. Accordingly the business life of 28 of these enterprises was ascertained. Four of these establishments had been established a year or less, 10 from 1 to 5 years, 8 from 5 to 10 years, 3 from 10 to 15 years, and 3 from 15 to 20 years. Over two-thirds of the enterprises had been established less than 10 years and approximately one-half had been operating less than 5 years. Is there need of stronger proof of the Negro's ability to start with small capital and rapidly increase it? These facts are even more striking when we remember that the Negro has had little chance to borrow money either to start on or after his business has been launched.

An excellent way of gaining an idea of the growth of capital is to distribute it within certain limits as in the following table:

TABLE XXXII.

## ORIGINAL AND PRESENT CAPITAL.

Limits of Capital (in dollars)	\$25 & under	\$50 to	\$75	\$100	\$150	\$200	\$250	\$300	\$350	\$450	\$500	\$750
Capital at beginning	7	4	4	5	3	5	...	3	1	1	3	
Present Capital,*	..	..	2	..	2	..	1	2	..	3	6	

Limits of Capital (in dollars)	\$1000	\$1250 to	\$1500	\$2000	\$2500	\$5000	\$9500	\$10,000 & over
Capital at beginning,	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
Present Capital,	5	4	5	2	2	1	3	

Twenty-two colored entrepreneurs have a capital of \$1,000 and over at present, and only 16 a capital of less than \$1,000. The showing at the beginning was 36 entrepreneurs with less than \$1,000 capital, only 4 having a capital of \$1,000 or over. A few examples will suffice to show how rapid has been the rise of many colored entrepreneurs. One undertaker increased his capital in 19 years from \$250 to \$18,000; another from \$2,000 to \$15,000. A certain druggist invested \$900 14 years ago, and at present has stock amounting in value to \$6,000. Three grocers starting out with \$350 each, increased their capital, one in 5 years, the others in 10 years, to \$2,000. A colored restaurateur began business with \$85 worth of fixtures and \$25 in cash. In 10 years he increased the capital to over \$8,000. A colored coal and ice dealer started with \$140 fourteen months ago and at present has \$500 invested in his business. A second-hand furniture dealer two years ago bought eight old stoves and started a second-hand furniture store. His present capital is \$800. These are not the exceptions, but are taken at random. All of which goes to prove that a considerable amount of capital is not the chief requisite for success in business. Any young Negro of good education who can read of the business success of members of his race and then be satisfied to act as a porter around some saloon or barber shop either is without ambition or lacks some of the essential qualities of manhood. The successes of colored men in business, professional life or in manual occupations ought to be the supreme challenge to every Negro to achieve something.

A discussion of capital invested in various enterprises would not be complete without an estimate of the total amount of capital invested at the present time. And while it is impossible to get the precise amount of capital the approximate amount can be ascertained in the following table:

\*Two could not give present capital.



It would be safe to say that there are at least \$250,000 invested in St. Louis business enterprises by Negroes. This represents the amount of capital actually invested in stocks and fixtures, and does not include buildings of which only a few are owned by colored entrepreneurs. Compared with the survey made eleven years ago by Miss Lillian Brandt, business capital has increased fourfold. Making an allowance for the incompleteness of the earlier estimates, we could still say that business capital invested by Negroes had considerably more than trebled in the last decade.

There are several fields of business in which large shares of this quarter of a million are amassed. The largest amount of capital in any field is \$60,000, in five undertaking establishments. The 22 saloons have a combined capital of not less than \$44,000, and possibly more. The Poro College, from which no definite information other than income could be obtained, must be worth at least \$20,000. Drug stores are worth \$15,000, restaurants \$12,670, steam laundry \$10,000, groceries \$8,350, barber shops \$12,000, pool-rooms \$7,500. There are eight other fields of business requiring from \$4,000 to \$6,000 capital. The remaining capital is scattered in \$1,000 and \$2,000 amounts among various other types of enterprises. There is no field in which more than 25 percent of the combined capital has been invested and only two fields, undertaking establishments and saloons, which have over 15 percent of the total capital. Only 6 fields of business have less than \$1,000 invested in the enterprises. The distribution of capital among the various lines of business entered by Negroes in St. Louis is general, and not confined to a few fields.

Referring to the table on the distribution of capital within certain limits we find that 203 out of 287 colored enterprises, or about 70 percent have a capital under \$500. Of the remaining 30 percent, 59, or 20.5 percent, have a capital ranging from \$500 to \$2,500. About 9 percent have a capital of \$2,500 and over. Six businesses have investments of \$10,000 or more. It is regrettable that Dr. Haynes has no table for the total valuation of New York colored business enterprises. The results seem to show that St. Louis colored business enterprises are larger than the same class of enterprises in New York. St. Louis has more large enterprises than New York although New York has a greater number of enterprises, most of them being smaller enterprises. Several grocery stores, by no means the largest of the negro enterprises, had capital amounting to \$2,000 each. Not only did the word of the proprietor warrant such a statement but also the appearance of the store. St. Louis negro business men have started with a very small capital and within a comparatively short time have increased it many times over. The capital is not amassed in a few lines of business but distributed in many lines, which fact surely aids its growth. The greatest number of fields have capital ranging from \$2,000 to \$12,000. Viewed at almost every angle the business capital of colored men of St. Louis is very well distributed.

#### 6. Yearly Sales.

Considerable information was collected concerning yearly sales by colored proprietors. It is our belief that negro business men are doing a yearly business aggregating over \$1,000,000. Considering the quarter of a million dollars invested this figure is very reasonable. In a discussion on wages an estimate was made that the yearly wage income of St. Louis

colored people was approximately \$12,000,000. It therefore follows that only 8½ percent of all the money spent by the colored people of St. Louis is expended with the members of their own race! This figure should be still further reduced when we consider that some of the enterprises such as the steam laundries, barber shops, coal and ice dealers, drug stores and groceries do a certain amount of business among the whites. Is there room for co-operation? Does it look as if the average Negro has any opportunity to help his race? Will there still be room for other colored enterprises to live and thrive? If the colored people of St. Louis could only realize how much they are able to do toward race advancement by patronizing enterprises sponsored by members of their own race, commercial progress would certainly be more rapid. A later paragraph will consider the principles upon which this co-operation should be based. It must grow gradually and be builded upon business principles and not alone on race consciousness or sentiment. However, enough evidence has been presented to show that there is a need and opportunity for co-operation. The possibilities are great if colored people will only see them.

The largest amount of business done in any one field by colored people is with the saloons. There are 22 such establishments with annual sales of \$220,000. Next come the 5 undertaking establishments with a business totaling \$150,000. Data was procured for all but one of the enterprises so the above figures are almost exact. The Poro College, an institution for the treatment of the Negroes' hair, does a business of \$50,000 per year and is, without question, one of the largest colored enterprises of St. Louis. The colored restaurateurs are in receipt of approximately \$75,000 yearly, \$62,000 of which is taken in by five establishments owned by one man. The theatres and odeons do at least \$70,000 worth of business yearly. The estimate of the amount of business done by groceries, which totals \$58,200, is based on very complete and reliable data. The barber shops and the ice and coal establishments are in receipt of \$60,000 and \$40,000 respectively. The last figure indicates something of the extent of the hand-to-mouth method of living of the poorer colored families. The drug stores do \$33,400 worth of business, real estate dealers \$50,000, pool-rooms \$36,000, steam laundries \$20,000, newspapers and printing shops \$35,000, express and hauling companies \$22,500, pressing and cleaning establishments \$24,000, yearly. The receipts in other fields vary below these amounts, and in two cases were less than \$2,000. Corresponding to the distribution of capital invested, no field of business totaled even 25 percent of the gross receipts. It can be seen at a glance that the receipts of businesses are very well distributed among the different fields, which fact is very favorable to further commercial progress.

#### 7. Former Occupations of Colored Entrepreneurs.

Often the question of previous occupation came up in conversation with colored proprietors. While in many cases there is a connection between the former occupation and the present business, the connection is not so evident as one would suppose. Out of 40 colored proprietors from whom this information was received, 8 had been railroad porters, 4 of whom entered the undertaking business, one the grocery business, two a restaurant, one a second-hand furniture store. A porter in a wholesale dry goods firm started a dry goods store; a colored watch maker began

business as a jeweler; two barbers, a farmer and a porter, started barber shops. A brick and concrete worker, a janitor, and a porter each engaged in the grocery business. A house servant started a small printing shop. The two newspapers are edited by a former railway mail clerk and a lawyer respectively. A former colored porter is proprietor of the tea and coffee store. A laborer started the leading tailoring business; a former colored chambermaid manages a hotel. A colored municipal officer and a barber run the leading theatre and an odeon respectively. A Pullman cook quit the road to engage in the restaurant business. A janitor, a day laborer and a boatman are now selling ice and coal. A factory hand started the upholstering shop. A farmer, an elevator man and a tailor now do a pressing and cleaning business. A day laborer manages one of the dray lines. Many of the above colored entrepreneurs advanced naturally into their business, but others have engaged in enterprises which had nothing in common with their former occupations. Possibly encouragement from others, opportunities grasped, or a liking for certain fields of business, determined their entrance into the commercial field. It must not be forgotten that these factors last mentioned may also have an important bearing.

#### 8. Rents Paid by Colored Entrepreneurs.

The question of rents is important because it is another indication of business growth. Of course the rise of rents is a factor which must be taken into consideration. However the following table gives a general idea of rents paid by colored entrepreneurs at the present time:

TABLE XXXIV.

#### MONTHLY RENTS PAID BY COLORED ENTREPRENEURS.

Monthly Rent,	\$5	\$6	\$7	\$8	\$9	\$10	\$12	\$14	\$15	\$16	\$17	\$18	\$20	\$22
Establishments,	7	3	1	3	1	6	7	1	6	1	1	2	3	4

Monthly Rent,	\$25	\$28	\$29	\$30	\$35	\$40	\$49	\$50	\$65	\$100	*Home	†Own
Establishments,	3	1	1	2	1	9	3	2	2	2	2	7

In all there are 81 quotations. The rents range, as follows: 15 paying a monthly rent of \$5 to \$9.99, 31 ranging from \$10 to \$24.99, 8 from \$25 to \$39.99, 12 from \$40 to \$50, and 6 paying \$50 per month or upwards. Three fairly well defined classes of rent are evident; namely, those paying from \$5 to \$10 among the smaller businesses, those paying \$10 to \$25 rent, among which are found groceries, tailor shops, barber shops, etc., and those paying from \$40 to \$50 and upwards, among which are found the largest businesses. Seven establishments, 4 undertaking establishments, a grocery, hospital, and tea and coffee store, own their own buildings, the last three being encumbered by small debts. There is no doubt that many of the ice and coal buildings, dray line offices, etc., serve both as the place of business and the home. If the saloons could be included, any average which might be made would be greatly increased. Generally speaking the above table indicates that rents are not abnormally high, as is often alleged. One can see why house rents might be high because of prejudice against colored tenants and exploitation. But this is not necessarily true of store rooms. The demand is not so great nor is the location of primary con-

\*Home used as place of business.

†Place of business owned by proprietor.

sideration. The owner is glad to rent it for commercial purposes as he knows there will be less repairing, and somewhat greater income, than if used as a residence.

The increase in rents for some establishments shows something of their growth. Nearly every enterprise began as a very small concern. A few accumulated enough to buy the buildings, but these are exceptional cases. This is a natural result of the necessity of putting every dollar earned back in the business rather than devoting it to buildings and property. Ownership of buildings will come in time as enterprises grow older. In conclusion, it can be said that rents are not exorbitant but reasonable and that it is less a factor in negro business enterprises than in those of the whites.

#### 9. Character of Trade.

Many lines of business are patronized by both the colored and the whites. The larger the business, and the more impersonal the management, the greater is the probability of securing white patronage. In some fields of business, while there may be exceptions, prejudice and custom decree that whites should trade with whites. In other fields the patronage must always be colored. No great percentage of white patronage can ever accrue to negro business enterprises until they assume such proportions as to preclude personal contact between the races, and there is little need of white patronage when so much colored trade might be won. The undertaking establishments probably have a greater hold upon their race than any other line of business. No white undertaker will risk a loss of business which might come from officiating at colored funerals. Those who are too poor to provide burial are turned over to the colored city undertaker for interment. The steam laundry does not confine its service to Negroes alone but enjoys a considerable white trade. The second-hand clothing and gentlemen's furnishing goods store look for their custom from blacks, although the latter has an occasional white patron. The dry goods store has only colored patrons; three of the drug stores stated that their trade was "mostly colored," two of them estimating that it was 90 percent of the total sales. The grocery stores attract some white trade, four saying their trade was colored and four saying that trade was mostly black, with a few white patrons. Doubtless the unskilled white laborers living on the same economic plane with the Negroes do not seriously object to trading at colored groceries. The printing shops do considerable business with whites, the largest shop estimating that 40 percent of their patronage was from whites. The newspaper subscribers are of course colored but many advertisements inserted by white proprietors were found in the columns of the colored newspapers. Jewelry and florist shops, real estate and insurance companies deal only with colored people. The tea and coffee business enjoys only colored trade. Photograph galleries take an occasional order from whites but most of their trade is colored. One tailor shop estimates that 25 percent of its trade is white, the other three having only colored patrons. The hospital handles only colored patients. The business of the Poro College is exclusively among colored people. The automobile school instructs by mail both colored and whites. The hotels have colored lodgers only, principally transients or those engaged in train service. Theaters, odeons and saloons, pool-rooms, bakeries and res

taurants cater almost exclusively to colored people." The barber shops are of two kinds, those serving white patrons and those attending the colored. With a few exceptions the best kept shops are to be found in the first class, as white competition demands a higher standard of the negro barber. Shoe shops and the upholstering shop secure colored patrons only. The ice and coal dealers and dray lines have a mixed trade. Several dealers have as much white trade as colored trade, although it does not extend beyond the poorer class of whites. Pressing and cleaning establishments secure colored patrons with an occasional white patron. The blacksmith shops do a small business among the colored teamsters and express men. The second-hand furniture stores contrast on the score of patronage, one having colored patrons, the other having a considerable white trade. A large percentage of the business of the colored storage companies comes from whites.

There is no reason why the colored entrepreneur should not reach out and bid for white business. He should not neglect his colored patrons, however, to get white trade. If business growth is to be made it will probably be made possible largely by the patronage of colored people. Every time a colored business man makes a sale to his colored brethren he has taught them something concerning co-operation, and has probably inspired greater confidence on the part of his customers toward negro business men. On the other hand, white customers will feel under no obligation to continue trading with colored men, if fancy or circumstances dictate otherwise. They will go farther and draw the color line as an excuse for lack of further patronage.

Further evidence to bear out the fact that colored enterprises have increased their sales is found in the statement of the proprietors.

TABLE XXXV.  
BUSINESS GROWTH.

Class of	Decline	Stationary	Small	Fair	Steady	Good	Rapid
Establishments.				Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Undertaking							
Establishments.....		....	....	1	....	....	3
Furnishing Goods.....		....	....	....	....	1	....
Second-hand Clothing							
Store.....		....	....	....	....	1	....
Dry Goods Store.....		....	....	....	....	1	....
Drug Stores.....		....	....	....	2	....	....
Groceries .....		....	....	2	2	3.	1
Steam Laundry.....		....	1	....	....	....	....
Printing Shops.....		....	....	1	....	2	....
Newspapers.....		....	....	....	....	....	2
Tea and Coffee Shop .....		....	....	....	1	....	....
Photographic Gallery .....		....	....	....	1	....	....
Tailor Shops.....	1	....	....	2	....	1	....
Automobile School.....		....	....	....	1	....	....
Porro College.....		....	....	....	....	....	1
Theatres and Odeans .....		....	....	....	....	....	1
Barber Shops.....	4	....	....	....	2	1	....
Bakeries .....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....
Restaurants .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	6
Shoe Shops.....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Ice and Coal Dealers .....	1	1	....	....	1	1	....
Express & Hauling							
Company.....	2	....	....	....	....	1	....
Second-hand Furniture 1	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Pressing and Clean-							
ing Establishments. ....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Blacksmith Shop.....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total.....	1	12	3	6	10	12	15

The above table is not meant to cover the present and preceding years but the business life of the enterprises,—a sort of general characterization. In the smaller enterprises was found the slowest growth or no growth at all. The only large enterprises which reported a small increase was the steam laundry. The probable reason is that it is a very new enterprise. The barber shops, express and hauling companies, pressing and cleaning establishments do about the same amount of business year after year and could not be expected to show large increases. Out of the 59 enterprises 43 showed increases from fair to rapid. Six businesses reported fair gains and of the remaining 37, 22 showed good or steady increases, and 15 rapid increases. There were different rates of increase in many fields which showed that some proprietors had met with greater success or were more enterprising than others. Increases of various degrees were found in all lines of business. These expressions on the part of employers as to the growth of their business may be safely taken as characteristic of all enterprises. Sales are increasing, enterprises are multiplying and the more businesses established the easier ought the growth to be. Colored people will more and more form the habit of trading with their own people. And all increases or lack of increases of whatever size are due largely to the business ability and personal initiative of the entrepreneur himself. The field is there, but it has to be worked; and a good or rapid increase is largely dependent upon hard work and close attention to business.



## 10. Previous Residence of Colored Intrepreneurs.

TABLE XXXVI.

## PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF COLORED ENTREPRENEURS.

State or Locality.											
Tenn.	Ark.	Miss.	Ohio	Neb.	Ill.	Mo.	St. Louis	Washington, D. C.	Iowa	South	Total
5	3	4	2	1	3	2	8	1	1	9	39

The above table is probably representative of the entire number of colored entrepreneurs. The common impression is that most of the colored business men are natives of the south. And while a great many are from that section of the country, they are not necessarily in the majority. Twenty-one proprietors came from the south, from the states of Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi and others not specified. Eight came from the north, central west or east,—from Ohio, Washington, D. C.; Iowa and Nebraska. The remainder, or 10, which is 25 percent of the total number, came from Missouri and St. Louis. And eight out of the ten lived in St. Louis. This is a very creditable showing for the city since its colored population is producing a considerable proportion of colored business men.

## 11. Summary and Conclusion.

Such is a brief characterization of the business establishments owned by St. Louis Negroes. Certain lines of business for which there is a need are not represented. For instance, there is no bank, shoe store, first-class dry goods store, bakery, employment agency, shoe repair shop, butcher shop, hardware store or exclusive furniture store. It is a conundrum just where the better paid class of colored people are depositing their surplus earnings. Many are buying homes and a bank would enable others to do likewise. The services of a bank would encourage saving among the middle classes and aid them in financial crises.

Probably eighty thousand pairs of shoes are used by colored people in St. Louis every year, but not a dollar is paid to a colored shoe fitter. In Kansas City, the Negroes have a co-operative shoe store which is doing a thriving business. In spite of the large demand, only one struggling dry goods store has been established by negro business men. A colored bakery would find itself busy supplying bread and pastries to colored restaurants, and grocery stores. Every week great quantities of meat are consumed yet no colored butcher has opened a shop. There is no end to the possibilities which may come through co-operation. Larger businesses could be built up; greater opportunity would be furnished for the young in commercial pursuits; wealth could be amassed, and the whole race be lifted to a higher economic plane.

The Negro has little to gain from trading with the white race. He is allowed to patronize a place as long as he is profitable. But when the proprietor decides to raise the standard of his trade, the Negro is told that he is no longer wanted. Many instances could be cited to bear this out. The measure of success which will be achieved by colored business men will hardly depend upon the people themselves. To illustrate, if every professional man, business man, and clerical worker bought an outfit from the one furnishing goods store, the proprietors could easily double their stock and enlarge their quarters. The writer wishes to emphasize that it is not alone among the lower classes that lack of patronage is apparent but also

from among the better classes of colored people. They are the people who are in a position to make business if they only would. But the objection has been raised that the stock assortments of colored stores are limited. This may be true, but large stocks will be carried if more business is transacted. It is very evident that the stocks will never increase if patronage is withheld.

And the colored merchants themselves must make every effort to meet the prices of their competitors. The color line must not be appealed to unless prices are equal to or lower than those of white competitors. They cannot expect to hold the trade of their people unless their stocks are as good and their prices as reasonable as those of their competitors. It must not be forgotten that the capital of individuals is very limited and that business growth must necessarily be slow. St. Louis Negroes might well follow the example of Kansas City and other towns which have thriving co-operative enterprises. Doubtless capital would be forthcoming if those interested could secure the co-operation of their people. The colored race in any city will never gain the full measure of respect due it until it has many substantial business enterprises. Let the colored man dream of the time when he shall cease to be a wage earner and become an entrepreneur.

### C. THE CLERICAL GROUP.

The clerical workers compose the last division within the general business group. The two principal occupations in which colored clerical workers are engaged are the municipal and the federal service.

#### 1. Federal Employees.

The federal employees number approximately 200 and are of various ranks. According to a list compiled in July, 1912, there were 18 sub-clerks, 5 sub-carriers, 118 clerks, 17 carriers, 25 laborers principally janitors and about 27 railway mail clerks. The aggregate of the annual salaries paid to these workers in 1912—exclusive of railway mail clerks—was \$152,000.00. Including the last group the annual payroll would increase to approximately \$185,750.00,—a considerable sum. Examinations for such positions are open to both colored and whites; and merit, not color, enables a man to secure a position. It is natural that colored men should stand well in the waiting lists because only the better class, those with considerable education, apply for these positions. There are many colored men in the service who are high school and college graduates. Aside from the professions and teaching these positions are the most desirable that colored men can obtain. With white men conditions are different, as there are dozens of opportunities open to them which would yield much greater returns than federal service. For colored men there is not much of a chance for advancement because whites are given the preference. Neither is there strong likelihood of greatly increasing the number of colored men in the service. Colored men are very efficient because they stay in the service longer than do the whites.

The following table contains the length of service of 117 federal employees:

TABLE XXXVII.\*

## LENGTH OF TIME IN FEDERAL SERVICE OF COLORED EMPLOYEES.

																	20	30	35 or	Un-
Under																	to	to	Long-	known
Years	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	30	35	er	3
Males,	1	23	13	5	8	4	12	4	5	7	5	3	2	3	4	3	3	4	1	3
Females..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Fifty-eight employees have entered the service within the last five years, 91 within the last ten years, the remainder having served from 10 to 40 years. Colored carriers work mainly in colored districts, or gather mail from street mail-boxes. Those working in local stations and at the central office perform their duties in the same offices as the whites.

## 2. Municipal Employees.

About fifty colored people are employed by the municipality in a clerical capacity as officers, inspectors, clerks and messengers. The office of Constable of the Fourth District is the only elective office held by a colored man. Those subject to civil service are policemen, probation officer, attendance officer, the last named office being under the supervision of the Board of Education. The remaining positions are merely appointive positions filled by the various heads of the departments and the committeemen of the party in power. A few of the positions such as Sargeant-at-Arms of the City Council, City Undertaker, Constable, Attorney, and Police Clerk pay \$100 per month and upwards. The clerks in the various departments, the messengers, deputy sheriffs, policemen, and inspectors, earn from \$65 to \$100 per month. The janitors and night watchmen receive \$55.00 per month. Many of the incumbents of the more highly paid positions are men of influence, with large followings among the colored race. They probably distribute, or aid in distributing, patronage to the clerks, messengers, and janitors. The positions are not sinecures, if compared with other offices within the gift of the dominant party, but they are considered by colored men to be excellent positions. The incomes are equalled only in the professional group. The Republican party seems to be the most generous party in the treatment of the colored race and a large majority of Negroes are Republicans. In a close contest the 16,000 negro voters can decide an election. Political parties know this and hold out some inducement in return for the negro vote. Colored officers and clerks seem to think that the number of city employees will increase in the future. They know their power and, though normally Republican, would make a fight to retain their positions regardless of party. Political influence does not affect the street cleaning department, which is largely composed of Negroes. The officials are glad to get colored men who will stay throughout the year. To show that the municipality is according some recognition to the colored race, the following payroll of city employees, exclusive of those employed by the Board of Education, is here presented. The grand total of salaries per month is \$35,798, and for the year, \$429,576.

\*This table was compiled by Mr. J. Stokes, who has served for forty years as a federal employe.

TABLE XXXVIII.

## CITY EMPLOYES AND MONTHLY SALARIES.

Officials or Employees.	Number Receiving														Total Monthly Wage
	\$36	\$42	\$50	\$55	\$60	\$65	\$75	\$80	\$83	\$90	\$100	\$125	\$150		
Sergeant-at-Arms, City Council...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	\$ 125	
City Undertaker...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	150	
Police Officers...	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	660	
Sheriff .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	
Constable, 4th District...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	150	
Clerk, Circuit Court Office...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	125	
Attorney, City Col- lector's Office...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	100	
Clerk, Assessor of Water Rates' Office .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	180	
Clerk, Court of Crim. Correc...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	90	
Asst. Clerk, 2nd District Police Court...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	83	
Clerk, 2nd District Police Court...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	100	
Clerk, Recorder of Deeds' Office...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	140	
Deputy Marshals...	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	150	
Clerk, Collector of Revenue Office...	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	
Garbage Inspec...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	100	
Deputy License Collector .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	
Deputy Constable ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	150	
Inspector, Health Dept...	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	120	
Inspector, Street Dept...	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	525	
Messengers, Circuit Clerks, Office .....	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	120	
Messengers, Col. of Rev. Office...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	
Messenger, Board of Public Imp...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	260	
Night Watchman, Water Rates Of...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	
Assistant Head Janitor...	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	
Janitors for City Garbage Drivers and Helpers...	..	..	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20,000	
Street Cleaners...160	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,760	
Street Cleaners (Soft Roads)...	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,520	
Sewer Cleaners...	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	480	
Total (734)....	160	60	400	60	21	1	14	1	1	7	5	2	2	\$35,790	

## 3. All Other Clerical Workers.

The colored clerks in stores work in colored establishments, such as drug stores, groceries and other businesses. No colored man, so far as is known, is employed as a salesman by any white proprietor in an establishment. There are four or five colored salesmen who visit colored people in their homes to sell goods. A certain colored man does considerable business for a downtown piano firm, in this way. A few negro women very light in color have been able to secure positions in downtown retail stores. According to reliable authority there are at present at least twelve or fifteen colored girls employed as salesladies in the largest and most up-to-date retail stores. Several were interviewed and furnished the information on which the above statement was based. The bookkeepers and stenographers are employed by colored firms, and do not number more than five. Colored girls are just as efficient and demand a smaller salary than do the men. The number of colored people employed in these occupations will never increase until the colored race engages more extensively in business. It seems very certain that they will not be used by white proprietors in these capacities. The shipping clerks are found here and there in the wholesale district and their work partakes more of the handling of goods than the keeping of records. Foremen and bosses are used by construction companies or other large enterprises in a supervisory capacity. They are made responsible for the work of the men under them. Business agents look after the interests of the colored alliances and unions. A particularly difficult and extensive task is the management of the Hod Carriers' Union, which includes over 800 members.

The remaining occupations in the clerical group cannot strictly be called clerical workers, but all require some special knowledge or talent. There are not, according to local theater managers, over 10 actors who follow the stage as a profession, and they are little more than amateurs. The horse trainers are busiest in the summer, although they are employed in working out the horses throughout the year. Formerly there were a number of negro prize-fighters in St. Louis but only two were found. The soldiers and chemists, the former living at Jefferson Barracks, complete the numbers in this group.

## CHAPTER IV

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### THE NEGRO WAGE EARNER

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#### 1. Domestic and Personal Service Group.

The largest group of male colored workers are those engaged in personal service. They constitute 37.4 percent of the total number of colored male wage earners. Though this field has long been the stronghold of the negro worker, and while the numbers will always be large they will doubtless tend to decrease. Neither will the desirable occupations within the groups grow in numbers, but on the contrary will decrease. All additions will be to the less desirable occupations which comprise a large percentage of the group, due to the growing competition of immigrant labor.

##### a. Porters and Janitors.

The colored porters and janitors make up respectively 49.7 and 18.2 percent of this group. Their average wage is approximately \$10.00 per week, with a minimum of \$8.00 and a maximum of \$12.00. Porters in banks and offices receive a better wage than those who work in saloons, stores and factories. Barber shop porters earn various wages according to the class of shop and character of trade. They are generally paid a very low salary and forced to supplement this amount with "shines" and tips. In many cases the proprietors receive a share of the tip money. Saloon porters serve lunches, scrub floors, clean windows, and occasionally tend bar, when there is a rush of customers. This is the most undesirable kind of porter work, both morally and financially. The men come in daily contact with the worst, as well as the better class of patrons; they are forced to listen to the foulest and most obscene language; and perform the most menial of service. Many supplement their earnings by carrying drinks to outside customers. Imagine the effect that this vicious environment, these low associations, and menial tasks must have upon men of this class. At least 1600 colored men are engaged in this undesirable and morally harmful occupation. There are very few hotel porters, this work being performed by colored bellboys under the supervision of the whites. Porters in stores and factories do the rough work and cleaning, but seldom wait on trade. Even in factories where there should be a better opportunity to learn a trade, they are barred from doing anything but menial work, due largely to the indifference of the employer and the hostility of the trade unions.

*The janitors have much the same work as porters, but as a class*

better paid. City janitors receive \$50 per month and those working in schools and churches about the same figure. Those working for private families and in stores and factories receive much less. Many janitors for private families lodge on the premises. The colored "job work" men make more than any other class of janitors. They contract to fire the furnaces, cut lawns, scrub walks, and do the house cleaning of several families for a certain figure, generally \$8 to \$20 per month for each family. In this way steady work is insured which yields from \$45 to \$80 per month. There is no doubt that other nationalities especially the Swedes and Germans are taking the better class of janitor work away from the colored man, especially in office buildings. It is so easy for a white laborer to arouse class prejudice by asking an employer if he is going to give a Negro a job in preference to a white man. The question of efficiency does not enter. If the colored man is given a job, he is supposed to work overtime and endure many inconveniences. The employer believes he is befriending the colored race, by hiring a Negro who will render equal service at less cost.

#### b. Pullman Service.

There are approximately 900 colored men in St. Louis in the Pullman and dining car service employed as cooks, waiters, and porters. The wages for the entire number in the service will not average more than \$50 or \$60 per month. Very few men average higher than \$85 per month. This does not mean, however, that the Pullman Company pays them the above figure. Colored cooks get a straight salary, but colored waiters and porters do not. The wages for waiters and porters range from \$27.50 to \$47.00, according to the length of the run and the service performed. The balance is paid by the general public. There was a time when a Pullman porter could average as high as \$150 per month from wages and tips, but that day is past. Many still in the service can remember when they had to pay a bonus to the company for a position, depending entirely on the general public for their salary. But the tipping system has rapidly declined in recent years, due to prolonged agitation against the practice. Much complaint has been lodged against the service all over the country because proper attention could not be secured without tips. If this be in any measure true, there is a reason for it. The men are forced to garner in every tip to make a bare living. They receive an average wage of \$45 per month and the remainder has to come from the general public.

The Negro is not treated as a man but as a mere servant or underling. Self respecting Negroes always feel this slight, when first entering the service, but grim necessity bids them smother their pride. From every angle the tipping system is unjust. It is unjust to the Negro because in accepting tips he feels himself less a free man, and because necessity forces him to perpetuate the system. It is unjust to the general public because they are forced to pay extra for service which should be included in their fares. The tipping system must be abolished and companies forced to pay the Negroes a living wage. The change will work temporary hardship, upon the Negroes especially, but will be best in the end for the company, the general public, and the Negroes. The porters are responsible for all bed linen, towels, glassware and lanterns entrusted to their care. If an *unprincipled traveller purloins a towel or glass he is not robbing the company, but the poor porter.* The runs are of various sorts, at all hours

of the day and night. Frequently the runs are long and consequently much sleep is lost. In dull seasons or flood time employees are laid off for days and even weeks at a time without pay. Yet they must hold themselves in readiness to go out on their runs. The busy season is in the summer, and the idle times in the spring and winter. A creditable record of five years of previous employment is the principal requirement for entrance to the service. There is little incentive to undertake the work, and no chance for further advancement. There are fewer colored men entering the Pullman service than leaving it. Frequently an iron and steel worker is found who was once a Pullman porter. They feel that they are free men, earning better wages, and living more independently.

c. Waiters and Cooks.

The waiters and cooks numbering 646, receive a slightly lower average wage than those engaged in the Pullman service. They work in second class, and in family, hotels, and in restaurants, but do not hold the head positions in the best hotels of the city. Much less than 50 percent of the cooks in the restaurants are colored. This is largely due to strong opposition on the part of the white unions. The Negroes were eliminated when the trade was organized. Occasionally a colored head cook is found in a non-union establishment. The waiters, numbering 475, are divided into three classes: first, the union waiters with a membership of forty; second, the waiters belonging to a non-union organization called the Alliance, and all others who are not affiliated with any organization; third, the "cater" waiters. The first class demand the union scale, but do not always get it. The second class have a large membership and control the services of about four hundred waiters. They work for substantially the same wage as white waiters, though in some instances for less. The third class comprise those who go out on special trips in the service of white caterers. Most of the colored "cater" waiters are working more or less regularly at a restaurant or hotel or in some other occupation, and do not depend entirely upon employment from white caterers. There are always a few colored waiters who can be used on special trips. Many of the colored "cater" waiters are member of the Alliance or the regular union. They charge \$3.00 for each trip.

The number in this service has considerably decreased for several reasons. The trade unions have organized the service, and while allowing the colored waiters to organize, do not support them but actually work against the members of their union. The locals are organized separately and ~~there~~ is no co-operation for mutual betterment. There is undoubted hostility to negro waiters from a certain contingent of the general public. Local business agents for colored unions believe that eighty percent of their trouble is due to discrimination of hotel managers and patrons and twenty percent due to the opposition of white unions. The same undesirable features of the tipping system that were described in the Pullman service apply in hotel and restaurant service. Seven dollars per week is the salary paid and the rest has to come from the general public. And in many cases the negro waiter has to divide "extras" with the proprietor. Just a little hard thinking on the tipping evil would prompt one to patronize *places where the system is not in vogue*. Managers and proprietors ~~may be given to understand that profits reaped by such unfair means are~~



defensible and to be severely condemned. The wages of white waiters are at least one-third higher, the average daily wage being from \$2.50 to \$3.50. For them it is a profitable business, some making as high as \$40 to \$50 per week in the best hotels of the city. Where the white waiter gets quarters and half dollars, the colored waiter receives dimes and nickels. There is not much hope of the colored waiter regaining his former supremacy. It will be all he can do to maintain his present position. Influences over which he has no control have defeated him in the competition of workers in this occupation.

#### d. Barbers.

The barbers have also lost ground in their trade during the last ten years. There were not over 150 colored barbers, according to the report of the Barber's State Examining Board, in 1911. These may be separated into two classes: those who cater to white trade only, and those who have colored trade. The former class is not found in the leading hotels of the city or in the downtown district, as in former years, but in the smaller business blocks and the poorer residence sections of the whites. Their trade is limited because they cannot serve both colored and white patrons. The second class maintain shops in the various colored districts of the city. Few of the establishments are at all pretentious, trade is not brisk, and colored barbers have ample time to whet their razors for prospective customers. Miss Lillian Brandt mentioned in her study in 1902, that the best barber shops were, at that time, run by colored men. Possibly the whites are more efficient and scientific in their trade, and more enterprising in attracting custom. Again St. Louis has lost much of its southern tradition since the World's Fair in 1904, becoming more of a northern metropolitan city, and so a less favorable location for colored personal service workers.

#### e. Footmen, Valets, Stewards, etc.

Footmen, valets and stewards and coachmen are very few and are a survival of pre-emancipation times when the master had a personal attendant. The Negroes at present engaged are probably older men who have been with the families for years. The average man who can afford a valet today wants a private secretary, barber, chauffeur and servant all in one. The colored man was excellent for slavery days but he has not had the training to satisfy the demands of the present. And here again fashion enters to dictate. It is now the proper thing to have Japanese valets, and accordingly many Japanese valets are found in St. Louis. There are no colored men going into the above occupations, and it might as well be conceded that the Negro has nothing to hope for in this field.

#### f. Miscellaneous Workers.

The bath-rubbers are Negroes because no one else seems to care for the job. It is arduous, undesirable work, but pays a fair wage, namely, \$15 per week. The footmen are employed by the large department stores to open doors and courteously assist patrons. Elevator men are employed in the office buildings and department stores. There is a tendency to put *in colored boys* at a much lower salary than that paid whites. The work *is simple and anyone can perform it after a few minutes of instruction.* *Night watchmen* are found in many stores, and in buildings where they

work during the day as janitors. Negro boatmen number very few, except during the summer when they are engaged on excursions. The work performed is tending bar or waiting on tables. Negro bartenders work only in colored saloons. They are paid about \$15 per week. Almost any saloon porter could fill the position because of his experience in the better saloons of the whites.

#### g. Conclusion.

The personal service occupations are not very promising or remunerative for the Negro. Aside from the Pullman and hotel service there are few occupations that are at all desirable. The Negro is losing ground in this field and unless there is some radical change, this group will continue to be the most poorly paid and menial of all groups. There is practically no chance for advancement. If the movement of colored workers is away from this group to common labor and factory work, and indications are that this is true, there is little cause to regret the decrease of this group. The colored people will never become a powerful race, if they continue to have a large body of workers engaged in personal and domestic service.

### 2. The Artisan Group.

#### a. The Building Laborers.

The bricklayers, tuck pointers, plasterers, carpenters and painters compose the first division in the artisan group. The number of workers in each occupation, given in the detailed tables<sup>1</sup>, includes those who are regularly following the trade. They work for white real estate firms, colored contractors or for private parties. A few real estate firms have enough repair work on rented houses to keep one or two colored plasterers, painters, and carpenters busy a good share of the time. There are only three colored contractors in St. Louis and only one of these has a business large enough to furnish steady work for colored laborers. Most colored artisans have a general acquaintance among whites from whom they receive much work. Colored contractors, not only hire the men outright, but sublet the work to one man who is responsible for getting additional help and for performance of the work. Negroes are not allowed to work on union jobs, or with white union men. The colored bricklayers, tuck pointers and plasterers are busy about half of the time, while the colored carpenters, painters and paperhangers have somewhat steadier employment. However, they are employed less of the time than white artisans.

Colored artisans generally demand and get the union scale of wages, which is \$5.00 per day for bricklayers, carpenters \$4.00, plasterers \$5.00, paperhangers \$3.50, tuck pointers \$3.00, decorators and painters \$3.00. There is little doubt that the number of artisans has declined in the last decade. According to the census figures of 1900,<sup>2</sup> there were listed 184 colored masons and bricklayers, 26 painters, 26 carpenters and joiners, as against 25 colored bricklayers, 15 painters, and 15 carpenters found in 1911. An increase from 18 to 25 was noted in the number of colored plasterers. It is doubtful whether there were 184 colored masons working in 1900, for many out of pride may give the occupations as mason, while

<sup>1</sup>See Appendix B, Table V.

<sup>2</sup>Census 1900, Vol. on Occupations, 1904, p. 606.

their real work was carrying the hod. The figures in the table include only those who follow their trade regularly. As more homes are bought or erected by Negroes, these artisans ought to be employed in the construction and repair of them. They are skilled workmen and capable of doing a fine grade of work.

There is no reason why the colored people of St. Louis should not make a better showing in the artisan group. Kansas City has twice as many artisans, with a population half as large.\* In other words for the size of the colored population Kansas City has four times as many artisans as St. Louis has. The reason why Kansas City can boast of such a large class of artisans is because of the operations of the Afro-American Investment and Employment Company founded by F. J. Weaver and associates. The company contracts with private parties and real estate companies to do repairing, overhauling, cleaning, remodeling of buildings and houses at a reasonable figure. Most of the business of this company comes from the whites. These artisans do not get the union scale, but receive a fair wage. The officials of the company say that they would be perfectly willing to pay the union scale if the unions would admit these negro tradesmen to full membership. There has been considerable friction between white and black workers, but the unions have steadily refused to admit the colored workers. The business of the company has grown so fast in recent years that they have been forced to send south for artisans. The same venture could be started in St. Louis, if the right men were interested. If, instead of 95 to 100 colored building laborers, St. Louis could increase the number to 200 to 250, it would be a great gain to the colored portion of the community and progress would be more rapid. Possibly in time unions could be founded, and sufficient numbers enrolled to attract builders and master bricklayers. The key to the situation is an efficient enterprising contractor who would be able to get the business for the employment of artisan workers. Is not this worth the earnest consideration of colored leaders?

#### b. Chauffeurs.

Almost two-fifths of the colored artisan class are automobile chauffeurs. This is one of the new trades which the colored man has recently acquired. Chauffeurs are of two classes: the older men have been coachmen, and on the introduction of automobiles, have learned to run machines; the other class is composed of younger men who have served a short apprenticeship under some experienced man, or have taken a course of lessons at an automobile school. A further division according to wages and skill might be made. The lowest class can drive a machine but are not mechanics. They are generally employed as housemen at some family residence, where one automobile is kept. They clean the machines, assist the head chauffeur, who is generally a white man, and do the extra chauffeuring when the head chauffeur is off duty. They receive \$20 to \$30 a month, with board and lodging. The middle class, to which the majority of negro chauffeurs belong, have a working knowledge of the machine they operate, and can keep a car out of the repair shop unless there is some serious trouble. They receive from \$40 to \$60 a month and lodging but not board. Calls

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\*The data was received from F. J. Weaver, head of the Afro-American Employment Company of Kansas City.

are made upon their time at any hour of the day or night. There is a tendency for white owners to expect too much of their chauffeurs. The Negroes must be ready at any time; they must be careful drivers and skilled mechanics. The third and highest class includes the expert negro mechanics who can build their machines and forge the parts. Conditions of labor are just as exacting on these men as on those of the lowest class. White chauffeurs of the same skill and ability get from \$100 to \$150 per month, while colored chauffeurs receive \$75 to \$90 per month. There are more white than colored chauffeurs, but there is plenty of work for all. It is hard to say which race is gaining the most ground in this trade.

The increase of chauffeurs in the past ten years has been very rapid. According to several of the older colored chauffeurs there were only four a decade ago, about fifty, five years ago, and at the present time there are a few over 200. At first wages were higher, but as the younger men entered the trade they undercut each other. There is a steady demand for both white and colored chauffeurs, and any man with some mechanical ability along this line can get a job. A colored chauffeurs' club has been organized with a membership of forty. Though not organized as a union it serves the purpose admirably. The rich owners of machines employ colored chauffeurs because they are cheap and steady. A white chauffeur can easily get a higher wage at a garage as a driver or mechanic.

#### c. Musicians.

The colored musicians have a union with a membership of 64. The others listed are non-unionists. These men are not employed in any white theatre in St. Louis. More than once the negro musicians have tried to gain a foothold, but opposition of white unions and managers were too strong for them. Their services are engaged chiefly for private colored gatherings, or river boat work. The unionists demand the union scale and insist on playing for only respectable gatherings. A small per cent of the men follow the trade regularly, but most of them have additional means of livelihood. In the summer there is considerable demand for their services by travelling circuses and carnival companies. A few of them also furnish music for the pleasure gardens.

#### d. Tailors, Printers, Miners and Others.

Of the remaining occupations in the artisan group the colored tailors are the most numerous. They run small shops of their own and do a pressing and cleaning business. Here again the union steps in to prevent colored tailors from getting employment in custom shops. The men make a bare living and are unable to enlarge their establishments. Colored cabinet makers and coopers do not number over six in the entire city. The colored printers work in the colored printing offices and are non-unionists. The miners and stone cutters work in the local quarries at rough labor. They are not fully competent stone cutters such as one finds in the unions. The millers listed were working in a small mill in the suburbs of the city.

#### e. The Negro and the Trade Unions.

When discussing the skilled workers found in the artisan and factory groups, their relations with white union workers of the same occupation is of paramount importance. Is retardation due to hostility of trade unions and to what extent? Can the colored man best serve his interests by for-

ing separate locals and opposing organization with organization? What has been the colored man's experience with the unions in the past? These considerations are of sufficient importance for treatment in a separate section. Negroes as a race are hostile to the trade unions. The reasons for this are not far to seek. It has been the general policy of almost all labor unions to exclude the Negro from membership. They have sometimes gone farther than this and have tried to force the Negro from the fields of industry occupied by trade unions. In times of strikes and labor troubles, when the employer has sought to use the negro labor, the union men have threatened him with violence. Color prejudice has also been aroused to make him a less dangerous competitor in industry. The Negro undoubtedly has a good case against the trade unions. Although preaching the doctrine of a community of interests among workers they have not put it into practice in the case of the Negro. The colored man generally feels that he has nothing to gain through unionism as he now finds it and makes no effort to demand admission. But an injustice will be done if we attribute all of these measures entirely to a hatred and prejudice against the Negro aroused by union action. The trade unionists are no more prejudiced against the Negro than the average American citizen. Their acts are largely governed by conditions, and often they endeavor to seek the most practical method to reach a given result rather than to follow the ideal procedure. Many unions have been fighting for their very lives, since their inception. They could not take into their organization workers untrained in trade union ideas. And the Negro has not been the only man who has felt the strength of trade unions adversely. The non-union white men, the unskilled foreigners, have also been discriminated against. It is not strange that the unions took advantage of the color prejudice to strengthen their position instead of throwing open their organizations to the Negroes. Practical considerations more than prejudice or hatred have determined their course. In order to show that the above statement is true, and that unions will admit Negroes when their control of a trade or occupation is threatened, the United Mine Workers of America and the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees need only be cited. Here the Negro was a valuable asset in helping control the labor supply, and he was promptly offered membership. The Negroes cannot expect the unions to take them unless their numbers and efficiency command respect. There are thousands of whites exactly on the same plane who have just as much to hope from organization as they. It can be said with some certainty that the Negroes will be admitted to the unions whenever they have sufficient numbers to affect conditions in a trade or occupation. Considerations of expediency will then demand that they be admitted.

Should the Negro affiliate himself with unions by forming separate locals or should he refuse to enter the same unions with the whites? During the summer of 1913 colored waiters were installed in the leading hotels of St. Louis, due to the inability of hotel managers and union white waiters to agree on wages and working conditions. The hotel managers sent east for colored waiters, who came principally from Indianapolis and Chicago. They used comparatively few local colored men. Considerable picketing and threatening has been carried on by the discharged white unionists throughout the summer and fall of 1913. Apparently the colored waiters are giving satisfaction, but it is doubted whether they will be engaged for

any length of time.\* Unionists are agitating their dismissal and it will be only a question of time when the white waiters will be again installed. A short time ago a conference was held between representatives of the union waiters and the hotel managers looking forward to an amicable settlement. The colored waiters are not organized, they have no leader, no kindred occupation in which to engage, no strong organizations which would demand their continuance in the work. The hotel managers simply use them as a weapon against the unions, who in turn consider them little more than strike breakers. And although white unionists may have ground for bitterness against these strike breakers, they have been very remiss in supporting colored locals when there was trouble with employers, and when their own interests were not at stake.

This leads up to the question of accepting membership when it is extended to the Negro. Many unions dodge the question by asking the Negro to form separate locals of his own. In every instance where this has been done, the Negro gained practically nothing except organization. He might as well be entirely independent of the white union for all the benefit that he gets when separately organized. Instances have been known where white unions directly harmed colored locals or refused to come to their aid. If the colored man is to join the union at all, he should be taken into the white union and given full rights. If separate locals are formed, the chief benefit gained is strength through organization, and through education in trade union ideals. To show the success of unionists who admit Negroes on equal terms, the piano movers' union may be cited. Here Negroes are admitted on equal terms with the whites, according to the secretary of the local union. He stated that some of their best members were Negroes, and that there were no better unionists in the local. The work requires much physical strength and great care in handling the pianos. Undoubtedly if the Negro is to succeed as a unionist, he must be taken into the white union instead of forming colored locals.

The hodcarriers' unions are the largest and most successful of all the St. Louis unions including negro members. The first local was organized in East St. Louis, Illinois. The opposition of white hodcarriers was very bitter at first and men were brutally treated and continually threatened with violence. The contractors however, stood by the Negroes until they obtained control of the trade. Today the white and negro carriers work peaceably together, under agreement not to molest each other's work, and to join in demands for higher wages. About 800 Negroes are on the trade union roll and the wages paid, beginning June 1, 1912, were \$4.00 for a day of 8 hours. The work lasts about seven and a half months in the year. A death benefit fee of 25c is collected from each member when any of the members die. The three locals are well conducted and show effectually what the Negro may accomplish through organization.

The local situation deserves consideration because it illustrates concretely what has been said in the preceding paragraphs. A list of the colored labor unions in St. Louis is found in the following table:

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\*As these pages go through the press, the newspapers carry announcements that white waiters are to replace Negroes in all the leading hotels.

TABLE XXXIX.  
COLORED LABOR UNIONS IN ST. LOUIS.

Trade	Local No.	Number of Members	Percent of Trade Organized	Hours	Year Organized	Weekly Wages
Waiters .....	353	23	25	10	1902	\$10.00
Hodcarriers ...	3	420	90	8	1898	21.60
" .....	8	200	90	8	1898	21.60
" .....	1	175	90	8	1898	21.60
Piano Movers..	784	47	100	10	1903	15.00
Musicians ....	44	64	40	3	1895	15.00

The colored waiters, musicians, and piano movers are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They are entitled to representation in the Central Trades and Labor Council, but rarely attend the meetings. The colored waiters and musicians are organized separately from the white locals, and do not co-operate to any extent with them. Only the hodcarriers have a secure hold on any occupation. The musicians have succeeded in organizing only 40 percent of the musicians, and the waiters only 25 percent. All of the colored unions have been organized a considerable length of time. The union wage scale is given in the last column.

But the enumeration of colored unions found in table 39 by no means completes the number of organizations among Negroes. The colored waiters' alliance, a non-union organization, controls the services of at least four hundred waiters. Many of these are ex-unionists who believe that their lot may best be furthered through independent organization. This organization has all the earmarks of a union, such as officers, regular meetings, dues, employment desk, and club room. The colored cater waiters, numbering forty, and the Chauffeurs' Club, of about fifty, are similar organizations. The waiters' alliance often undercuts the colored waiters' union, making it hard for colored unionists to maintain their position. There is also a *quasi* organization of non-union musicians who often come in conflict with colored union musicians.

Half of the iron and steel workers should be organized also. This would swell the number of negro unionists to well over 2500, which would be approximately 7% of the total trade union strength of the city. It is hard to believe that so large a body of organized workers could make a demand, or advance a plea, without being given the rights to which their strength and numbers would entitle them. If some of their number were oppressed they could unite in protest against such violation of their rights. But this means a considerable capacity for co-operation among negro workers which doubtless could not be accomplished without abler colored leaders than exist at present. It is, however, a goal to work towards, the achievement of which will mean great things for the negro worker.

The Negro must also assume a different attitude toward the trade unions from that he has displayed in the past. The best hope of all toilers lies in organization and the Negro is standing in his own way if he does not join in the movement. He need not wait for admission to white unions, for he can gain much through organization of workers of his own race. This done, consolidation with white unions would be a natural result. Let him prepare himself for the higher skilled trades, and presently he will be admitted to the white unions. In the meantime he should seek to convince

the white leaders as to his attitude toward unionism. Let him show his white brothers that he believes in the union and earnestly desires admission. The union leaders especially are generous, broad-minded men, and will do their part to help the Negro to better his condition.

The outlook is better than ever for the negro unions. Local labor secretaries and organizers are ready to offer their services to the Negro. They are of the opinion that prejudice against the Negro is much weaker than a decade ago. Especially is this true among the iron and steel workers. The International Secretary of this union believes that the time is opportune for the organization of the negro foundry workers. He emphatically stated that Negroes would make much more desirable members of the trade unions than the foreigners. The Secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council expressed a desire to organize the Negroes and offers his services to explain the terms of organization to colored people at any time. The labor leaders are in sympathy with the Negro. These men realize that the greatest advance will be made when all toilers of every color and race are organized.

Evidently the Negro is not a serious competitor of the unions. He has not applied for admission, and local unionists have scarcely thought of him as a problem. The seriousness of the relation of the Negro to the unions has been much exaggerated, for only a small percentage of colored workers have reached the place where they compete with white unionists. Most of the unions appearing in the tables are of unskilled workers only. With the exception of the freight handlers and tobacco workers the trades are well organized. Very few Negroes are members of the unions. Neither are there many Negroes in the occupations outside the unions. The opinion of the unions concerning the Negro's work record and his conduct in the union, was favorable. Instances were found where Negroes had been used to break strikes. Concerning admission to the union, it appears that very few Negroes have ever tried to gain admission, and that the few who did apply were generally not admitted. The attitude of the iron, steel, and tin workers union is very generous and Negroes in this field should avail themselves of the opportunity to enter the union organization.

However, it is worth while to note in what occupation workers could be unionized whether affiliated with white unions or not. The Negro has much to gain through organization. At present every artisan is working independently, which fact is an effectual bar to progress under present conditions. If colored men are convinced that they can best further their interests without being affiliated with white unions, then do not affiliate. If the contrary is true, then act on that doctrine, but organize. How will the colored men ever be able to change conditions single handed? If this were realized by the average colored man, formation of trade unions affiliated, or unaffiliated, with white unions, would be hastened. At the present time there are approximately 900 colored unionists, 800 of whom are hodcarriers. Additional artisans who could be organized aggregate 800 more, as is shown by the following table:



Bricklayers and Tuck Pointers.....	35
Plasterers .....	25
Paper Hangers and Decorators.....	20
Carpenters .....	15
Auto Chauffeurs.....	200
Colored Waiters.....	300
Barbers .....	100
Post Office Clerks.....	100
Total.....	795

The above discussion has made one fact plain, that the Negro is not of great importance in any artisan trade, except chauffeuring. The few that are engaged in building trades and as mechanics are allowed by circumstances and not by choice to perform this work. The whites have displaced the Negroes, and by superior union organization, have effectually succeeded in barring their colored brethren from these occupations. Consequently a number of artisans who were at one time efficient workmen, have changed their occupations. And yet the race must assemble greater numbers in this group if it is to progress industrially. The number engaged in the professions and business will not grow rapidly, nor the possibility of entering them more easy. The colored race should rather devote its efforts to training skilled men who can give equal service in the skilled trades with the whites. But the best way to build up the group is to furnish work for them. This in turn necessitates the entrance of more colored contractors, or of white contractors who will utilize colored labor, into the field. No one doubts that there is an abundance of this work requiring artisan labor. The logical step to take is to interest white or colored contractors in the value of colored artisan labor. The whole question of the relation of Negroes to trade unions has been over emphasized in the past, because so few Negroes were eligible to membership. Union leaders have hardly thought them a problem worthy of consideration. The importance of this question will tend to grow, however, as the more unskilled laborers are organized, and as the Negro acquires skill and training in unionized trades. And in a discussion of the relations of the colored men to the union it must be remembered that a very small percentage of colored workers are at present eligible for the unions. Only as the union organization has reached to the less skilled trades, has the question of negro membership come up. This was no where more strikingly shown than in the investigation of unions, which the Negro might be likely to enter, were he given the chance. For the sake of brevity the data will be shown in the following table. The information was secured from the secretaries of the different local unions:

TABLE XL.  
THE WHITE UNIONS AND THE NEGRO.

Name of Union.	Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
International Moulders Union	900	75	None*	...	Yes	No information	Yes	Some applied Not admitted
Pavers, Rammers.....	25-40	100	None*	50	Fair	No information	No data	Not refused None applied
Freight Handlers.....	15	..	None*	Few	...	No information	No	None applied
Department Store Drivers...	....	100	None	None	...	No information	No data	None applied
Furniture Drivers.....	200	95	3-4	50-100	Fair	No	Yes	None applied
Auto Truck Drivers.....	1,400	90-95	26*	Few	Yes	Yes	...	None refused
Meat Cutters.....	625	70	None	Many	Fair	...	Yes	Negro members withdrew
Tobacco Workers.....	75	"Small"	None	Many	Fair	Fair	No	Admitted. Re- fused information
Roofers' Union.....	200	"Nearly all"	None*	Few	No data	...	...	None applied; ad- mitted anytime
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.	2,000	"High"	None	Few	No data	No information	No	

1. What percent of the trade is organized?
2. How many Negroes in the union?
3. How many Negroes in the trade outside of the union?
4. Are Negroes good workmen?
5. Are Negroes good union members?
6. Have Negroes tried to break strikes in your trade?
7. Were Negroes formerly admitted to the union or were they refused?

\*Informant was prejudiced against Negroes. In the other cases there was no prejudice, but Negroes were not taken in.

### 3. Factory Group.

The showing of the factory group of colored workers is encouraging because the Negro has made marked progress in this field and there is opportunity for him to advance still further. Undoubtedly the numbers in factory work have been recruited from the ranks of the personal service and common labor workers. And present conditions indicate that the process will continue. Referring to the group percentages in relation to the total number of colored male workers, we find that the factory group constitute 20.3 percent, personal service 37.4 per cent, and common labor 29.1 percent,—groups not so disproportionate. A few years of additional progress at the present rate will materially lessen the difference in the groups. The colored people may as well realize that a majority of them will be debarred from almost all occupations requiring great mental ability, and from the trades demanding expert skill, for a long time to come. And possibly, the great majority never will engage in these occupations until a much larger proportion of the negro race succeeds in business.

#### a. Iron and Steel Workers.

The iron and steel foundries afford an opportunity for the colored wage earners and to show how this opportunity has been laid hold of, the figures for the numbers in iron and steel workers for 1900 and 1910 are cited. In 1900 the United States Census\* returned 213 negro workers from St. Louis; in 1913 the writer actually found 1644. The probability is that there were at least 1800 colored workers and during busy seasons several hundred more. Not all of these are skilled workers, nor are the conditions under which they work the best. The important thing is that they have established themselves in the industry. Their entrance into the foundries depended upon a combination of circumstances which made it necessary that this labor be utilized. Iron and steel foundry owners have had much trouble with their white employees, since the rise of the trade unions. Frequent strikes were called which interfered with the output of the plants. The employers retaliated with lock-outs, using non-union immigrant labor, and so the war went on. The immigrants were used in large numbers for all types of foundry work. As time went on the native whites yielded their places to the Irish and Germans who in turn advanced in the industrial scale and were followed by Hungarians, Poles, and various Slavic groups. The work was unskilled, and required no previous training. Occasionally white employers would hire a Negro for the most dangerous and disagreeable tasks, which white men had refused to perform. As time went on even the foreigners would strike for a higher wage and for the recognition of their interests. Employers had but one last source of unskilled labor and they utilized it. The Negro was introduced; first, because he was needed; second, because he could be held as a club over dissatisfied workers; and third, because he was profitable, being content to work at proffered wages. It was not a humanitarian motive that moved the employer to afford the Negro employment in this field, although there are exceptions, but simply a matter of necessity, and of dollars and cents. *The Negro was a willing worker; he worked at low wages; and*

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\*United States Census, Volume on Occupations, p. 606.

could be depended upon to break a strike. Another potent reason for his advent into this field is the increased demand for unskilled labor. The iron and steel business has grown to large proportions in recent years. Large plants are employing thousands of workers where they formerly employed hundreds. Again a great change in race occupations, is going on. The whites who formerly worked in the foundries are engaged in other fields, the northern races of Europe who took their places have advanced to the more skilled posts or are following some higher occupations. The southern European immigrant has been used in his stead. And the supply of unskilled labor being still insufficient, the Negro has been utilized.

There are eight, or more, foundries in St. Louis and vicinity which use negro labor. The largest company uses approximately 1000 Negroes. The day the visit was made the records showed that there were 960 colored men at work. This company has more Negroes in its shops, and a larger percentage of negro workers in its total working force, than any other company. The Negroes comprise from 60 to 62 percent of the total labor force. Their co-workers are Hungarians, Poles, Italians, German and Welsh and a few Americans. In the other foundries the number and percentage of Negroes is much less. A certain company of Granite City has 1800 workers, of whom about 100 are St. Louis Negroes. Another group of foundries has 2500 workers, about 200 of them being St. Louis Negroes. There are also several hundred Negroes in these foundries living in Illinois. Other companies employ respectively 200 Negroes, 41, 50, 85 and 8, making a total of 1644 workers. There are doubtless a few small plants not listed by the writer which would bring the number of Negroes to 1800. This is believed to be the approximate number steadily engaged at the trade. During certain busy seasons there are a few hundred more colored workers.

In order to give a connected narrative concerning negro labor in the largest foundry, the writer will present all of his material concerning the largest company. General conditions in this plant are similar to those in most other plants. Where substantial differences exist the points of dissimilarity will be stated. This company operates the largest steel casting plant in the world and does business all over the United States. The plant has two immense shops, besides many other extensive buildings. All sorts of large steel castings, engines, railroad car bolsters, turbines, flywheels, as well as smaller pieces are made. At present it is a non-union establishment. The company has had strike troubles of the same nature as its competitors. This was especially true a few years ago when militant unionism was less cautious and conservative than it is today. Repeated strikes curtailed the output. As a last resort Negroes were advanced to the better positions, to fill the places of the strikers. It was not long till they became efficient enough to enter every department of work except the pattern, electrical, and machine rooms. They had begun as common laborers, firemen, roughers and chainers, but soon became rammers, shippers, core-makers, moulders, moulders' helpers, cupola tenders. During July, 1912, when the cranesmen struck in sympathy with the pattern makers, these positions were given to Negroes. In passing through the foundry one sees all the cranes of every size and capacity manned by Negroes.

(1) Tasks Performed.\*

*At this point the nature of the work should be explained. The crude*

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\*See list in Appendix B, Table VI.

ron, principally from the Birmingham districts, is shipped to the foundry in the form of "pigs." These are mixed with other ingredients when put into the furnaces to make the steel. The colored firemen tend to the blast furnaces, under the supervision of a white foreman. Several hours are consumed in bringing the molten metal to the desired temperature. During his time the ladle, which is simply a high bucket in which to carry the molten steel, has been thoroughly dried by the use of a blow pipe. When it is ready the heat is drawn off by the cupola tender. The crane carries the ladle over the finished mold, and the tender allows the molten metal to run out of the bottom of the ladle into the mold by means of a lever.

The core makers make the cores which are of various sizes to fit the moulds. When the moulders receive the wooden patterns, made in the pattern shop, they begin their work. It consists of putting sand into the wooden pattern so that the hollow mould may be made. This requires much skill and experience, and an apprenticeship of at least six months must be served to become a regular moulder. To build some of the more difficult moulds requires years of practice and experience. The rammers and moulder's helpers do the rougher work of moulding, such as pounding the sand into the wooden pattern or assisting the moulder. Of course, there are many small moulds, from which thousands of pieces are made, that require less skill and precision. And it is rather on these pieces than on the larger and more intricate moulds that Negroes are employed. The chainers follow the cranes, hooking on the chains to steel castings or whatever is being transported. The colored cranesmen operate the electric cranes which vary in capacity from three to forty-five tons. After the mould has been filled and cooled, the roughers knock away the loose sand and dirt and scrap iron from the casting. Here sledges are used, or if the pieces cannot be cleared in this way a heavy iron weight is dropped upon the casting. The casting then goes to the chipping room, where the chippers cut off surplus bits of iron, smooth the surface and corners, and rim out the holes of the casting. This is done by compressed air chisels, or less often by the use of chisel and mallet. This completes the work of making the casting, which after inspection is shipped to its destination. The negro car wheelers work in the car-wheel foundries rolling car wheels from the foundry to the outside for inspection and shipment. There is a knack of rolling one of those wheels which comes only through long practice. Others operate a sort of carriage upon which the hot wheels are placed. The rivet heaters simply heat rivets to be used in the construction of cars and are not found either in a car-wheel or large steel casting foundry. The "shiners" work in chain factories polishing the chains by means of a revolving wheel. The rivet heaters also work in these places heating the links and rivets for those who forge them.

Considerable skill is required in these occupations. The firemen and cupola tenders have a hot as well as dangerous job for they are compelled to stand near the furnaces at all hours. There is always some danger that a cupola tender may lose control of his ladle, or that the ladle itself will burst, due to imprisoned moisture, or that the chain supporting the ladle will break. The moulders are the most skilled workers in the shops proper. *Their work is not dangerous, although they work with cranes operating*

over their heads. The rammers and moulders' helpers are less skilled but have a chance to become moulders. The core makers are still less skilled because they make only two or three sorts of cores. They have no chance to work up in their department. It is the least dangerous work of all as they are housed in a separate building. The cranesmen are skilled workers. They must know how to operate their machine and use the utmost care in their work. The chainers need no skill but are in great danger of being hurt by accidents due to the breaking of crane chains. These Negroes seem to enjoy riding around in midair and calling to their fellow workers below when a load is being transported overhead. The roughers require great strength to swing the heavy sledges. It is a most vigorous kind of manual labor and here are to be found the finest physical specimens of the negro race. The chippers work under certain disadvantages; namely, the moving of the cranes overhead, and the deafening noise of the compressed air hammers. They frequently lose their hearing and many say that it takes them weeks to accustom themselves to the din. The shiners, car-wheel rollers and rivet heaters require no special skill and many boys are employed in the last work. To sum up, the chief dangers in foundry work are the accidents which happen in connection with overhead crane work, and the pouring of the steel. Great care might reduce the number of accidents, but the dangers are inherent in the industry.

## (2) Wages.

In the detailed tables an average daily wage of \$2.75 for all colored iron and steel workers was recorded, which is based upon the following numbers and averages: four hundred workers making an average daily wage of \$3.50; 500 of \$3.00; 400 of \$2.50, and 500 of \$2.00. The cupola tenders and firemen receive a daily wage of \$2.25 to \$2.75; moulders, \$2.64 to \$3.50; moulders' helpers and rammers, \$2.00 to \$3.00; cranesmen, \$2.50 to \$4.50, according to the capacity of the crane; chainers, \$2.00 to \$3.50; roughers and chippers, \$2.00 to \$3.50; core-makers, \$2.00 to \$3.00; car-wheel rollers, \$1.75 to \$2.00. According to the United States Immigration Commission negro iron and steel workers of the middle west receive an average weekly wage of \$13.16, somewhat lower than the average of \$16.50 quoted in this study. The reason for this is that the Commission's figures included negro workers in East St. Louis only, and not those in St. Louis, where a large number of Negroes are performing the foundry tasks requiring higher skill. The Austrians receive a weekly wage of \$15.01, Bohemians \$17.43, the Greeks \$12.16, Italians \$15.11, Macedonians \$10.12, Polish \$13.81, Slovenians \$12.21, with higher wages for the native born and races of Northern Europe.\* This seems to show that the Negro is slightly better paid in the iron and steel industry than most foreign races. Wages vary in different foundries to a limited extent, but the chief reasons for differences depend upon the men themselves and their capacity for work. Most foundries use the piece rate system, and wages of men in the same work will vary. A few men make as high as \$5.00 per day, others as low as \$1.50.

In this connection the writer submits the expert testimony of Mr.

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\**Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. 9, pp. 606-7.

Harry E. Thomas, M. E., Dean of the Machine and Engineering Department of Tuskegee Institute. Dean Thomas came to St. Louis to study foundry conditions. His letter, dated April 22, 1913, is here presented:

"I will say that in answer to your questions my limited knowledge of conditions in St. Louis prompts me to speak as follows:

"The conditions at the works, where I visited, were very good as to safety, hours, treatment of men and regularity of employment. My questioning of nearly sixty colored men on these points, all of whom are shop workers, gave me reason to believe this.

"I do not think the men are underpaid. The pay rolls of a number I saw are pretty near the average in American shops. There may be some, however, getting less than they deserve. I do not favor the piece work system except in cases where it is carried on with the "let live principle" in view. I know shops where the piece work system has been so closely timed and regulated that for any man, no matter how much physical endurance or rapidity he may exercise, to make good daily wage is impossible. I am glad to say that I did not see this in St. Louis, if it exists.

"Eight or ten colored men told me they made their daily task and wage by 3:30 in the afternoon.

"I found colored men in the Scullin-Gallagher Company's foundries doing a high class of moulding. Dry sand moulds with the most difficult cores and green sand moulding with the most intricate patterns and moulds which had to receive expert hand finish. I judged by that that some of the men had been permitted to "work up" as some claim they have.

"I have no knowledge of the record made by any colored men in the pattern shop. I rather believe this happened after my visit. I visited other places in St. Louis but had no chances to investigate conditions as my time did not permit. In conversation with several colored business men of St. Louis they informed me that other opportunities awaited colored men as soon as they become prepared.

"I consider foundry work a good occupation to enter especially for a man of robust physique. The short trade life of a moulder comes more often from drink and dissipation than otherwise. I understood most of the colored moulders I met were fairly good men as to morals. My visit to parks and other places of interest would suggest that St. Louis is an up-to-date city, permitting colored people to enjoy many of the privileges and supporting a fine educational system for them and I judged by the spirit of its people from observation that if there are shops now employing colored men for the rougher work that a good strong committee appointed by the colored men could meet the white men of industrial influence and get matters righted in the shops providing they have a good set of colored men who will take the jobs offered and stay with them when once secured. The Scullin-Gallagher Company's plant in my judgment has proved this to be possible. I regret not being able to give you a more interesting or authoritative report."

### (3) Opinion of Employers.

A most valuable factor in conditions which must be considered is the *opinion of the employer regarding negro labor*. The superintendents and foremen say that the Negroes are more efficient than the foreign whites, *because they can understand English, they work faster and hence accom-*

plish more in a day. This is not surprising when we consider that the lowest classes of foreign born and of Americans are the workers who are compared to the Negro. The foreigners cannot readily understand orders of the foreman; they are not accustomed to such strenuous toil. And Negroes, on account of their general training in various occupations and their familiarity with American conditions, naturally take to the work more quickly. Another point in which employers think the Negro is superior, or which leads them to be favorably disposed toward him, is his docility. If the company wants a little more work than usual done in a day, the whites might refuse point blank, but a Negro will try. Dissatisfaction among the Negroes does not work out in the same way as the same trouble would among the whites. Instead of organizing their fellows and calling a strike, as the white would do, they simply quit and say nothing about it. There seems to be little tendency toward group action among the Negroes. This is partly explained by the fact that they have few capable leaders, and by the distrust of Negroes for other members of the race. There are large differences between the whites and Negroes. The whites are after the dollar, have capacity for organization, and will not tamely submit to what they consider a transgression on their rights; but the Negroes lack capacity for organization and will not fight strenuously for their rights.

There are opportunities for both whites and blacks in every department except the machine, electrical and pattern shops, according to the testimony of the company. Some negro pattern makers from Tuskegee were installed, presumably after Dean Thomas' visit, but the work was so new and the supervision so limited that they were later replaced by repentant white pattern makers from among the strikers. Undoubtedly, according to the employer, they would have made efficient men in time. But men, who needed little supervision, were wanted to do the work. There are few employers who can take the time, or have the patience, to instruct inexperienced workers. Other employers bore out the statement made previously that Negroes were easier to handle and quicker to learn than other unskilled workers. However, they need more supervision. Of the foreign races the Hungarians seem to be preferred, because they are mentally superior, and steadier than competing Europeans. Negroes are preferred as chainers, cupola tenders, chippers and roughers in all foundries, because they seem to stand the strain of the work much better than other races.

#### (4) Labor Supply.

The negro labor supply is greater than the demand. One company said it was easily possible to get 1000 more men, a majority of whom would be Negroes, to start work in the foundry at a few days' notice. The wide range in the number of workers is realized when it is stated that the minimum number of the foundry workers engaged is 1500 and the maximum, 2500. Every company has lists of men who have formerly worked in the foundry. It is comparatively easy to get in touch with them when work is plentiful. Not all these workers are idle or intermittently employed. Many have steady positions paying less than foundry wages. They welcome a few weeks or months work in the foundries and the opportunity to earn higher wages.



## (5) Insurance.

Certain companies insure their employees against accident and death by taking one-tenth of 1 percent from their weekly wages. If temporarily disabled a man receives half pay. He is, however, required to pay a part back after returning to work. Death benefits are paid as high as \$2500, but vary according to the wages of the man. One of the companies furnishes shoes, gloves and goggles, especially made for foundry work, to the men at cost. In the larger foundries medical attendance is always furnished. A school is managed by one company, but is open only to white employees. Chemistry, metallurgy, mathematics and general courses relating to steel manufacturing are taught.

## (6). Summary.

To sum up, Negroes have on the whole made successful foundry workers. They have demonstrated their ability in this field. And while a majority of them are performing unskilled tasks, many of them are skilled workers. A survey of the field shows that there is a demand for Negroes and a chance for them to work up to a skilled trade. Working conditions in St. Louis plants are good, employers very fair, and wages reasonable. Unions are more than ever disposed to admit Negroes to membership, as was previously shown. What further opportunities are to be desired? Let the Negro not say that he has no opportunity, for it is there if he will improve it. Conditions are not ideal, but are getting better every year, and negro leaders should help with the rank and file of workers to further their common cause. And the colored leaders have a great responsibility. If they are really in earnest in their attempt to better industrial conditions, they will ask the employers to give their race further opportunities. May we not hope that in the next decade as great an increase in numbers and a greater advancement in grades of work will be made as have been made in the last decade? It is possible, and entirely probable, if the Negroes themselves will grasp these opportunities.

## b. Brick and Tile Workers.

The next largest group of colored factory workers is engaged in the manufacture of brick and tile, and is half as numerous as the iron and steel workers. The work performed is common labor and teaming. The common laborers are divided into the following tasks: setting, burning, off-bearing, firing and wheeling. The setters and burners place the green brick in the kiln, the firemen fire the kilns, the off-bearers wheel away the brick after it has been baked, and the wheelers haul clay to the crushing machine, or do various wheeling tasks. Only a few Negroes were seen working at the brick-making machines, white labor, Armenians, Italians, and Greeks, being used for that task. All the work is unskilled and offers no opportunity for advancement. The principal redeeming feature about the work is that it offers steady employment for the full year. The brick and tile industry does not require a large number of skilled workers. The only body of skilled men, aside from mechanical and administrative workers, are the terra cotta workers. Considerable skill and a long period of training is essential in this work. It is well unionized and manned mostly by English and Welsh. *If a man has a strong back and is willing to do unskilled work, he can always get a job in the brickyards. In fact, many companies run*

want advertising at all seasons of the year calling for men. The work has no element of danger in it as has foundry work. The hours of labor are from 7:00 A. M. until 6:00 P. M. The principal race competing with the Negro here is the Italian. The Hungarians and Poles seem rather to prefer the foundries and the Italians the brickyards. The Negroes are employed to a considerable extent in both industries. As a class the colored workers in the brickyards are not on a par with those working in the foundries either in mental ability or in economic condition. The fact that the colored brick worker received on an average 75c per day less might suggest the cause of these differences. The colored men seem to enjoy their work in the brickyard and are fairly steady.

The employer's estimate of negro labor will always be an important factor in his industrial advance, and in the factory group special pains were taken to ascertain their opinions. That the reader may see at a glance what the concensus of opinion among brickyard employers is, the following table is introduced:

TABLE XLI.  
EMPLOYERS' OPINIONS.

Plant No.	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	13	All**	Yes	Same	No	Don't know
2	350	All**	No	"	Yes	Slow
3	300	Common labor	75 percent	"	"	Favorable
4	60	All**	No	"	"	None
5	50	Labor	Yes	"	"	"
6	9	Teaming	"	"	"	"
7	6	Common labor	"	"	"	"
8	10	Common labor	"	"	"	"
9	1	Teaming	"	"	"	"

The questions asked were:

1. How many colored laborers do you employ?
2. In what lines of work are they employed?
3. Are colored laborers reliable, steady, industrious workers?
4. How do they compare with white labor of the same grade?
5. Is colored labor preferred for any work?
6. Could the Negro be used in higher capacities than those he now fills?

The number of workers found was 799. To the second question all employers replied that they used Negroes for common labor and teaming. Their opinion as to his reliability, steadiness, and industry was favorable in all but three instances. Employers also thought that negro labor was as efficient as white labor. That the Negro is preferred for teaming and firing and the more disagreeable tasks, was brought out in the answers to the fifth question. And lastly, the employers either did not think the Negro could be used in higher capacities, or they were in doubt. In this industry, it must be remembered, there is little use for skilled men except as mechanics and engineers. Probably an even better idea of the employers' opinion may be had by submitting an answer in detail:

"Your letter of inquiry regarding colored workers, has been referred

\*\*Except engineers and mechanics.

to me to answer. We have from 300 to 350 negroes in our employ. They perform all classes of work which we require, except the very highest grades, such as engineers and mechanics. The great majority of them, of course, are only common laborers, a great many of them are teamsters, and a few are employed as brick setters, boiler firemen and off-bearers. There are many of them that are reliable, industrious and steady workers, but as a class we do not find them to be depended upon. The men filling the commoner grades of laboring positions are especially the most unreliable. Those who have had ability and intelligence enough to work up into positions which are a little more than common labor, are the best. They are fully as good in these places as any other kind of laborers. With the exception just noted, they compare favorably with white labor of the same grade; particularly do they compare well with American labor. Foreign white labor, however, is much steadier.

"I cannot say that colored labor is to be preferred for any except the more disagreeable tasks. They seem to be better satisfied with such work than any other labor which we are able to get. In general, colored labor seems to be as satisfactory as any other class of labor we are able to get, as there are faults to be found with all classes.

"I believe that the Negro has possibilities which will be developed only in the course of time. His chief fault seems to be his shiftlessness and inability to work when he has any money in his pocket. It seems to be necessary to advance money to them between pay days, in order to keep them alive, much oftener than to any other class.

"We will be glad to give you any further information which you may desire."

#### c. Tobacco Workers.

Little can be said about this group because the writer was unable to spend the time in adequate investigation. The adult colored men are employed chiefly as truckers. They take stock from the hogsheads in which it has been shipped, load it on the trucks which are hauled to the steaming room. The stemmers and rackers are mostly colored boys. One-half of the rackers spread the leaves on a belt which runs through steam and the other half hang the leaves on a rack to dry. Negroes are allowed to engage in the manufacture of tobacco, though this branch of the industry is highly unionized. At present none have taken advantage of the opportunity of joining the union. The Negroes have little competition in this occupation as it is disagreeable, unhealthful and offers very low wages. The average weekly wage for adults is \$9.00 and only the very poor engage in the industry.

#### d. Packinghouse Workers.

The largest of the local meat packing plants are located in East St. Louis, though there are three plants of considerable size in St. Louis. Most of the negro packinghouse workers are in the butchering rooms. Here they stand in the blood of slaughtered animals while performing their tasks. Negroes are expert gutters, cutters and skinners. They seem to have a natural dexterity with the knife. Their wages vary from 20 cents to 42 cents per hour. They begin their work early in the morning and often *finish the killing by noon*. Much has been said about the seasonal character of the meat packing occupation but the expert negro butchers seem to like

this irregularity. There are many Negroes who have a habit of working a few days and "laying off" as they call it. It is doubtful whether the short day would be considered a hardship by them. The busy season for the plants is from May to January, the rush coming during the summer. During the remainder of the year the plants are operated with a minimum of workers. A very few of the colored workers are dockers, or loaders of cars, coopers, or salt workers. They are used in the fertilizing factory as none but Negroes will work in this department. A few colored women work in the gutting room, but there are none in the other departments. They cannot be used in the chilling rooms or where there is much moisture, for they cannot stand the cold as well as the foreign whites who comprise the remainder of the packinghouse workers. In East St. Louis there is a total of approximately 3660 workers, of whom about 415, or 11.3 percent are Negroes. In St. Louis the number of negro packing house workers would not exceed 75.

The opinion of employers is well worth considering. They bar no worker on account of race or color. If a man can do the work he will be given a job, particularly if he is not a union man. They seem to prefer Negroes in the butchering department because of their dexterity. The impression employers gave was that they believed negro labor was fully as desirable as white labor, although each had its peculiarities and faults. The negro packing house workers are not so badly situated as is generally believed. To be sure, it is demoralizing to continually kill living things, even if they are dumb beasts. They receive fair wages compared with other groups, since they are better paid than the tobacco workers, and as well paid as the brick and tile workers.

#### e. Lead Workers.

This group is the last considerable body of factory workers. There are several large lead and paint factories located in St. Louis and vicinity, because of the proximity to the lead ore districts. The colored workers are in the majority, since few whites will work in this dangerous occupation. The employers are continually advertising for workers, paying slightly higher wages than the common labor scale, as an additional inducement to prospective employees. Medical examination and treatment and safety appliances are provided by some of the companies. The labor supply is made up of casual laborers and those who are willing to do anything to make a living. The principal danger in the manufacture of lead comes from inhaling the fine lead dust which floats about in the atmosphere. The tasks especially harmful are breaking the pots of lead in the grinding room. Men seem prone to neglect taking all precautions against poisoning. They are bothered with the respirators and glasses, especially in warm weather and throw them aside. Many eat their meals without washing their hands or changing their garments. Yet even when every precaution is taken there is some risk. Negroes seem to endure the work better than the whites, though many of them are poisoned. The writer met a negro foreman who had worked for four years in a lead factory. He had once been a burly specimen of the negro race, but at the time of the interview was weak and sickly. The last year of his employment he had worked about two-thirds of the time, being frequently compelled to take to his bed. In the *previous four months* he had not done a stroke of work; his earnings ha

all been spent for medicine and treatment, and his wife was supporting the family of three children by taking in laundry work. There is much danger in the industry, no matter how careful a worker is. And before beginning work he should have a doctor's certificate as to his fit physical condition.

The wages paid are as follows: oxidizers, \$2.40 per day; furnace men, \$2.25 to \$2.35; packers, \$1.75. The oxidizers and packers are the workers who are in most danger from lead poisoning. The hours are much shorter than in other industries, eight hours being the usual period of toil. Employers favor Negroes for reasons mentioned before, namely, their docility, their efficiency and the ease with which they are managed. A serious fault against the Negro in this occupation, and, in fact, all unskilled occupations, is his unsteadiness and his improvidence. However, the employers of Negroes in lead factories endure considerable annoyance from them because labor for the work is difficult to obtain. The negro lead workers should make an effort to enter some other line of factory work, such as brickyard work, if conditions in the lead factories are not improved. This is also true of the tobacco workers. There is plenty of opportunity for unskilled workers in safer industries if the Negroes will but avail themselves of it. Health is of greater value than the few extra dollars earned weekly in a dangerous occupation.

#### f. Other Factory Workers.

We now come to the last negro workers of the factory group, who are scattered in small numbers through several industries. The colored car repairers overhaul freight cars for the various railroad companies and put them in condition for future use. Their wages range from \$2.00 to \$2.35. The hours of labor are nine daily, and the work is steady.

The negro glass workers are not numerous because there are few glass plants in St. Louis. They cannot become glass blowers but remain helpers because the unions are closed to Negroes. This is not strange when we remember that they exclude a large number of whites as well. The boy glass workers in the brewery glass house will be spoken of in a later paragraph.

Negro shoe and leather workers are engaged in the factory as porters. They bale up the scrap leather, slip, or shave the leather shoe heels as they come from the cutter. The work is unskilled and the wages range from \$9.00 to \$10.50 per week. These colored workers are not allowed to learn any skilled work because of the opposition of the unions. Negro gas makers work in the power plants of the gas companies of St. Louis, supposedly as firemen. The salt workers handle commodities which are packed in salt, such as eggs, meat and other articles. The putty workers haul the raw material to the grinding machine. Both kinds of work are poorly paid and unimportant as occupations. The distillery workers mix or blend the different brands of whiskies. Much skill is required to mix the whiskies in the right proportion. Two men were interviewed—an old man and his son—who had followed the occupation for years. They said that there were few distillery workers because this work has been superseded by later methods and processes. The negro spice mill workers are employed in the grinding room. According to reports there are only two spice mills in St. Louis, so the number of workers cannot be large. The metal workers are employed in a metal shop as polishers and cleaners. The work is unskilled and the pay is low,

with no opportunities for advancement. The dairy and ice cream workers handle the milk cans and ice cream freezers in the dairies. They might well be classed with the common labor group but for the fact that they are under supervision at some definite establishment.

This finishes the consideration of the factory group. There are six occupations in which large numbers of colored workers are engaged, the remaining occupations being comparatively unimportant. Over one-half of the total number are in the iron and steel foundries, where they have good opportunities to advance. Approximately one-fourth are brick and tile workers. These men have little chance for promotion, but the work is steady, safe and healthful and the wages moderately good. The packing house workers have less desirable working conditions, but are paid good wages. The car repairers receive reasonable remuneration for their services and work under good conditions. The tobacco and lead workers, comprising approximately one-ninth of the group, work under conditions dangerous to health and receive a meager wage. The outlook is encouraging, and it is hoped that colored labor will avail themselves of every opportunity in these occupations.

#### 4. Common Labor Group.

The common labor group is, in many respects, very similar to the preceding factory group. In proportionate numbers this group stands between the personal service and factory groups. But it is unlike either in that it has no one occupation in which more than one-half of the entire number of workers are engaged. There are several occupations which contain a large number of workers, and of these occupations we shall first discuss the teamsters.

##### a. Teamsters.

There are approximately 800 colored teamsters in the city, exclusive of those engaged in the street cleaning department. A satisfactory classification of them is difficult to obtain. Many colored men are employed as teamsters by wholesale firms of the city. They haul shoes, tallow and hides, leather, hay and grain, and other bulky commodities. The auto truck drivers are also employed by wholesale firms, but they are few in number. The van movers and furniture drivers work for the various household storage companies. This labor requires some strength and skill, and a knack of handling unwieldy household furniture. The piano movers are the most highly paid and skillful of all. They belong to the Piano Movers' Union, which is the most successful union including colored men. The building material and coal and ice drivers, constitute over two-thirds of the 800 teamsters. The former haul cement, lime, sand, brick, gravel, stone and all building materials except lumber. The coal and ice drivers are employed by the larger coal and ice companies of the city. They haul more coal than ice. Ice dealers explain that white patrons prefer white drivers. There is keen competition among ice companies to secure trade, and naturally a white man is more of a success as a solicitor than a colored man could be. The greatest number of Negroes are employed in the summer and fall, and the least number in the winter, due doubtless to the Negro's susceptibility to the cold. The expressmen own their own outfits and do a miscellaneous teaming business, hauling ashes, moving household effects and waiting on colored patrons.

at the Union Station. The delivery store drivers are employed by catering firms, grocery stores and small establishments to deliver orders.

None of the large department stores employ Negroes in delivering. With the exception of the piano movers, Negroes are not engaged in the better paying lines of teaming. There are no colored drivers employed by department stores, express companies or laundry companies which solicit trade. These establishments pay the highest wages. One reason for the absence of colored men in these positions is that the drivers are unionized and refuse entrance to colored men. Another reason is the inefficiency and lack of independence of the colored men. In the lines of teaming just spoken of, money is being handled, receipts signed, business solicited, patrons pleased. A driver must plan out his work, and use his own judgment with problems that arise. The mere driving of a truck, or team, or handling boxes or bundles is the smallest part of his labor. It must be confessed that the Negroes who would naturally apply for these places would not, as a class, possess these qualities. Too much supervision would be needed in the first place to teach them their duties, and later to keep them to their work. Then the white patrons would probably object to personal contact with negro drivers. And the average Negro would waive all the worry, responsibility of the position which yielded him a few dollars more, in favor of his old job where he might tire his back and arms, but not his brain. The assertion is ventured that a very small percent of negro teamsters would be at all eligible for the higher positions.

The average daily wage of the negro teamster is \$2.10. The piano movers and coal and ice drivers receive \$2.25 per day, the building material drivers \$2.10, the delivery store drivers \$1.75 per day. Compared with wages of white teamsters, they receive a lower wage, because the better class of teaming is done by whites. They get the same pay as the whites when they do the same work. The work of the colored teamster is on an average more strenuous than that of the whites. Shoveling coal and sand, unloading brick, furniture and other bulky and weighty objects require great muscular power. The permanence of work also might be noticed. In all lines of unskilled teaming there is plenty of work throughout the year. The big problem with the employers is to get enough reliable steady men, black or white. Consider, for instance, the coal and ice companies. These firms formerly hired colored and white drivers by the day but they encountered so much loafing and inefficiency that they introduced the tonnage system. Men are now paid for hauling coal by the ton. There is a regular scale which varies with the grade of coal and the distance of the haul. Each driver has an assistant or helper whom he pays for helping dispose of the load. The steadier or regularly employed men are given the teams, and the helpers are picked up here and there. Many colored men would rather be helpers than drivers. Every morning they congregate in the coal yard to get a job, and strange to say there is keen competition for the smallest loads and the shortest hauls. Many of them only care to earn enough for a few drinks and a meal or two. Work is steady, wages good, but they refuse to avail themselves of it. Along with the levee Negroes they compose the most shiftless and useless class of colored people. *This does not mean that all Negroes engaged in these occupations are shiftless, for this is not true. Negro teamsters as a class probably rank higher*

among members of their race than the white teamsters do among theirs. Restricted opportunity has confined the better classes of colored people to unskilled labor. And this fact must be borne in mind as we next consider the opinion of the employers regarding white and colored labor.

(1) Opinions of the Employers.

Particular pains were taken to ascertain the opinions of employers. If anyone's testimony is entitled to great value and weight it would be the opinion of an unprejudiced employer, and as a class employers are fair and open minded, being governed by practical considerations rather than prejudices. There is general agreement in the schedules collected that the negro teamsters are reliable, industrious, and steady when properly selected and supervised. They endure heat well as coal wagon teamsters and helpers in hot weather. The following answer to the question: "What is your estimate of negro labor?" fairly represent the employers' viewpoint:

"Properly directed it is as satisfactory as any available. White foremen are required not only because white laborers will not work under negro foremen, but also because negro workmen will not work well under negro foremen. We do not find Negroes have executive ability, but are easily directed by it in other men. They are not ambitious to rise, but do not often degenerate. We employ them along with the white men without prejudice or discrimination for general yard and general delivery work. As a rule the tenure of service with us is longer in the case of Negroes than whites doing this sort of work. Negroes are stronger in general than whites, and more enduring, but less skillful, and not so much given to the taking of stimulants to "keep up" while at work. Negroes need more pressing, but less repression and correction. There is no appreciable difference in honesty or truthfulness. The two races work well together, better probably than either works alone."

Schedules received from household storage companies employing negro van movers are of the same tenor. Evidently the chief fault of the Negro is his unsteadiness and improvidence. However, general statements must in every instance be qualified because there is always a minority of steady, faithful workers, which fact is mentioned by almost every employer.

b. City Laborers.

The next large group of common laborers are those in the employ of the city. The garbage wagon drivers are all Negroes. No other men will stay on the job. The work is disagreeable and arduous. A man has to have a strong back to handle barrels of garbage and ashes all day. The majority of workers in this department are middle aged men. The head of the City Garbage Department has no complaint whatever to make against his negro employees. He is well pleased with their work, and especially mentioned their steadiness. The street cleaners for the paved streets have a push wagon into which they dump all garbage and scrapings. The wages paid are \$9.00 per week. Older Negroes who have not the constitution to perform more strenuous tasks are found in this department. The work is steady, which in some measure makes up for the low wages. The soft street cleaners work on the gravel, dirt or wooden roads *on the outskirts of the city*. They receive \$10.50 per week but are not *employed during the winter*. Much road grading and wood cutting is *d*



In this department there are whites as well as Negroes. The sewer cleaners have a most disagreeable and unhealthful job, for which they receive more wages than those in the preceding groups. There are only eight such workers. City work is one of the occupations on which the unskilled colored workers depend. There is no chance for advancement, although some of the Negroes think that eventually the city will employ a larger number of colored workers.

c. Building Material Workers.

The building material workers include the excavators, concrete and asphalt workers and haulers, building wreckers, junkmen, bridge workers and ditch graders. In all these occupations the work is mainly unskilled labor. The average wage for the group is \$2.00 per day, although the excavators receive \$2.50. There has been a recent attempt on the part of white leaders to unionize the excavators, admitting both colored and white, but nothing definite has been done up to the present time. The wreckers, asphalt workers, graders and ditchers are employed by construction companies at common labor. The coal and sand dumpers are employed by the railroads or coal and building material companies to unload material from the freight cars.

The hodcarriers have demonstrated what unionism can do in the unskilled trades. Years ago, before the Negroes were organized, the white hodcarriers had control of the occupation. Rather than grant their demands one of the chief building contractors of the city organized the Negroes. From the very first the organization was a success. The Negroes worked faithfully, and in time were preferred to white hodcarriers by both contractors and bricklayers. They have learned the lesson of trade unionism thoroughly and their locals are as well conducted and managed as other locals of the Buildings Trades Council. A demand for an increase in wages from \$3.60 to \$4.00 per day, was made in 1913, which was granted by the contractors. The total number of colored union hodcarriers in St. Louis is 800. The labor is very severe and only a man with a strong constitution can stand the work. The employment is not steady, but the workers put in as much time as the bricklayers or plasterers of the city—about seven or eight months in the year. Many have picked up the bricklaying trade while carrying the hod. These Negroes are well satisfied with their work and are among the best in the class of unskilled laborers.

d. Other Common Laborers.

The car cleaners are employed by the railroad companies to clean passenger coaches. St. Louis is an important railroad center, and approximately 125 men are kept busy daily. These workers are divided into night and day shifts. The pay is low—only \$1.80 per day—but the work is steady. The United Railway's colored workers are also engaged in cleaning the cars of the local street car company. The men work at the car barns located in various parts of the city. Practically all the car cleaning is done by Negroes. The colored stable hands work in the various livery stables of the city. They wash buggies, care for horses, and harness the teams. Many of them sleep at the barn at night. The colored firemen and night watchmen are engaged in wholesale establishments, office buildings and industrial plants to fire furnaces and guard the buildings and

premises. The colored boilermakers listed are boiler repairers, who are also firemen and general utility men. The colored hay and grain truckers handle baled hay, grain and similar products for grain firms. The colored yardmen are really hostlers who have general charge of the incoming teams. Colored farmers and gardeners raise truck on small patches of ground, generally outside the city limits. \*The census of 1900 returned 100, and this figure is used in this study. Colored traders, packers and movers work in wholesale houses at the rough work in the shipping rooms. Negro laundry workers are engaged in the wash rooms of steam laundries. There is not much chance for advancement as the white laundry workers have been unionized and do not admit Negroes. Firms contracting for whitewashing work regularly make use of colored labor. Fruit sorters, egg candler, candy and cotton workers employed by the commission firms of the city are Negroes. Colored automobile cleaners are employed in a few garages to polish the brass fittings on automobiles. The colored furniture polishers and wire workers really do little more than porter work, though they may help in the shipping room. Various wholesale firms have negro bundle packers.

There are approximately 125 colored freight handlers in St. Louis and about 313 in East St. Louis. Information was gathered for the entire group and is presented in the following table:

TABLE XLII.  
EMPLOYERS' OPINIONS OF NEGRO FREIGHT HANDLERS.

Railroad	Total Negroes		St. Louis, Mo.					
			1	2	3	4	5	6
Mo. Pac.,	100	10	White	White	White	Colored	Yes	Yes
Mo. Pac.,	50	15	No preference	"	"	"	"	No
Frisco,	80	25	"	"	"Same"	"	"	"
L. & N.,	20	20	Colored	Colored	White	"	"	"
Vandalia,	50	25	White	White	"Same"	"Same"	"	"
Cotton Belt,	40	15	Colored	"	"	Colored	"	"
Burlington,	65	..	White	"	Colored	Can't say	"	"
Wabash,	50	15	"	"	"	"Same"	"	"
			East St. Louis, Ill.					
			1	2	3	4	5	6
L. & N.,	50	50	Colored	Colored	Colored	Colored	Yes	No
B. & O.,	45	40	"	"	White	"	"	"
Vandalia,	68	68	White	White	Colored	"	"	"
M. & O.,	40	40	No preference	.....	"	"	"	"
Ill. Central,	75	70	"	White	"	"	"	"
Cotton Belt,	45	45	"	Colored	.....	"	"	"

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1. Which class of labor is preferred, Negro or white?
2. Which class of labor is the most reliable, steady, trustworthy?
3. Which class needs the most supervision?
4. Which class has the best workers?
5. Is there a steady demand for efficient labor of this sort?
6. Do you discriminate against negro labor?

Fourteen employers were interviewed, four preferred negro labor, five white labor, and five had no preference. The majority of employers be-

\*Census of 1900, Volume on Occupation, p. 606.

lieved that the whites were steadier, and could be depended upon to stay. This is again striking evidence of the improvidence and irresponsibility of the Negro. Freight officials have adopted the plan of paying off men every two weeks in order to keep Negroes at work longer. Four employers thought the whites needed more supervision, six thought the blacks did, and three could see no appreciable difference.

The verdict as to which class is the best workers was practically unanimous in favor of the Negro. He is a natural born trucker, proud of his skill. Freight foremen say that under right treatment the Negro will make a far more efficient worker than a white man. The best truckers come from the south, particularly from Memphis. Foremen said that efficient labor was scarce, and that steady workers were desired at all times of the year. But one of them admitted any discrimination against the Negro. The average wage paid is \$1.85. An interesting experiment in stimulating better work among the freight handlers was tried by the Illinois Central Railroad nine years ago. The workers were paid the usual wage per day, and a certain percentage on the value on all goods handled which were to be rushed through. The white workers eagerly grasped at this opportunity to raise their wages, but very few Negroes tried to work for the extra wage. The company said that had they raised outright the wages of negro workers to \$2.00 they would probably have worked as hard as the whites. The Negro is not alive to his own opportunity and interests, he simply works by the day, spending his earnings as soon as he gets them. Foremen are very liberal in advancing money to workers before pay day. Whatever is left at that time goes for beer or meals, or is lost on the throw of the dice. Until the Negro proves his worth and merits a better job, he must expect to engage in the lower unskilled occupations.

#### 5.—The Boys' Group.

The last group of colored male wage earners includes the boys between the ages of ten and sixteen. There is little available material on this group of wage earners, because colored boys are employed in few lines of work. Proof that there are very few occupations available for negro boys, at least in factory and foundry work, is indicated by the fact that out of 7,000 permits to work issued by the school authorities in 1913, only 62 were to colored boys, and 6 to colored girls. This bears out the assumption that they do not leave school to work full time. They may be gainfully employed while going to school, but work after school hours.

The following table presents some data covering the wages, ages and occupations of colored boys under the supervision of the Juvenile Court from Oct. 1, 1912, to Oct. 1, 1913:

TABLE XLIII.

OCCUPATIONS, WAGES AND AGES OF COLORED BOYS UNDER  
SUPERVISION OF THE JUVENILE COURT DURING  
OCT., 1912—OCT., 1913.

Occupation.	Under \$2.00	\$2.00 to \$2.99	\$3.00 to \$3.99	\$4.00 to \$4.99	\$5.00 to \$5.99	\$6.00 to \$6.99	\$7.00 to \$7.99	\$8.00 and over
Newsboys .....						13	13	....
Office Errand Boy.....	15s		15	15	15-17	15	11s	....
			17	12	....	....	....	....
			....	16	....	....	....	....
Bowling Alley.....			15	16	....	....	....	....
			18	13	....	....	....	....
			15	....	....	....	....	....
			16	....	....	....	....	....
			17	....	....	....	....	....
Shoe Shiner.....		15	....	....	15	....	....	....
		....	....	....	16	....	....	....
Delivery Drivers.....		14s	12s	14	....	16	....	....
		....	15	17	....	17	....	....
		....	15	....	....	....	....	....
Stable Boys.....	12s	....	14	....	....	....	16	....
	13s	....	16	....	....	....	....	....
Clerks .....		....	....	....	17	....	....	....
Tailor .....		....	14	14	17	15	....	....
		....	15	16	....	....	....	....
		....	....	16	....	....	....	....
		....	....	14	....	....	....	....
		....	....	15	....	....	....	....
Building Material Lab..		16	14	15-14	15	16	17	16-17-18
		....	19	15	17	15	14	16
		....	....	15	16	18	17	16
		....	....	....	....	....	....	16
		....	....	....	....	....	....	16
Steel Foundry.....		....	....	12	....	....	15	16-16
		....	....	14	15	....	15	17-16
		....	....	....	....	....	....	14-18
		....	....	....	....	....	....	14-16
		....	....	....	....	....	....	15-16
Glass Factory.....		....	....	....	....	13	16	....
		....	....	....	....	14	12	....
Packing House.....		....	....	....	....	....	....	15-12
		....	....	....	....	....	....	16
Tobacco .....		....	....	....	14	15	15	....
		....	....	....	....	15	....	....
		....	....	....	....	15	....	....
Miscellaneous .....	14s	14	15	16	16	....	....	....
		....	12	....	....	....	....	....
Personal Service.....	16s	....	....	16	....	....	....	17

The figures indicate the ages of those earning the sums stated per week;  
"s" indicates that the boy attends school.

One striking fact revealed in the above table is that the wage is governed by the kind of work and not by the age of the colored boy. The colored lad of 12 working in the packing house earned more than most of the colored boys three or four years his senior. The bowling alley boys, no matter how young or old, get an average of \$3.00 per week. Again boys 14 and 15 are earning in the foundries \$9.00 and \$10.00 per week. They are probably well developed and can do practically a man's work. Plainly the kind of work done and not the age determines the wage.

The factory workers composing one-third of the group are engaged in the glass and tobacco factories, in the steel foundries, and in meat packing plants. There is but one large glass factory in St. Louis employing white and colored boys indifferently. They employ about 150 colored and 300 white boys in their glass plant. Two shifts keep the factory running day and night. The colored boys are snappers and helpers. The atmosphere is stifling from the intense heat of the furnaces, and there is a continual noise and din. The superintendent prefers white boys because they are steadier, and can be depended upon to work more regularly. There is always a demand for boys, white or colored. White boys have a chance to become glass blowers, but this opportunity is denied the colored boys. The average weekly wage of the boys is \$7.00. The colored tobacco workers stem the tobacco and spread it on racks, work requiring no special skill or training. The average weekly wage is \$6.00, slightly lower than that of the glass workers. The colored boys cannot advance or become cigar workers. The workers in the car and chain foundries are rivet heaters. Their earnings are the same as the glass workers. There is a continual demand for colored workers in this occupation. Colored boys are preferred because they are cheaper.

The colored newsboys form a large wage earning group. They compete with white newsboys in almost every part of the city. Their trade is with whites as well as blacks. According to a newsboy study made two years ago by the School of Social Economy, there are approximately 200 colored newsboys, earning an average weekly wage of \$2.00 to \$3.00.

The brick and asphalt workers, construction company workers and ice and coal carriers, are engaged in common labor such as was described in the common labor group. The tailor boys, errand and office boys work for colored proprietors. The average weekly wage is not over \$4.50. The clerks and delivery boys are employed by a few white grocers. Colored elevator boys seem to be employed readily because they will work for a less wage than colored or white men. Recently the largest office building in the city was finished and colored boys were put in charge of the elevators. Colored shoe shiners are engaged in barber shops operated by colored men. Bus and bellboys work in second class and family hotels. They receive \$10.00 per month and board and room. This brings their weekly wage to approximately \$5.00. Bowling alley boys set up ten pins in the different bowling alleys of the city. The boys work from 7:00 P. M. until 2:00 A. M., getting very little sleep. Stable boys and blacksmith boys are generally helpers. Many negro boys do odd jobs of various kinds for friends and neighbors, making in this way two or three dollars *per week*. *Negro boys do not have an opportunity to engage in any occupation other than common labor. The occupations are few; the wages*

low; the chance for advancement small. This dearth of industrial opportunity deserves serious consideration, for it affects the future of the coming generation. Is the colored race to continue to be an army of unskilled workers? The low income of the average negro parent must be supplemented by the earnings of the children.

But many are enabled to take advantage of the higher education offered by the high school, and the question arises, what knowledge and training is acquired and what benefit it is to them after they leave school? The Sumner High School offers considerable educational and trade training to colored boys and girls. Aside from regular academic studies there are courses in machine and foundry work, carpentry, chauffeuring, printing and cabinet making for the colored boys; and domestic service, laundry work, art and needle work for the colored girls. The colored young people have every advantage that is offered to white boys and girls in the city schools. The class rooms are adequately equipped for practical training. An automobile is at the disposal of the chauffeur class. Benches, lathes, and machinery are provided for the students in carpentry; presses and type for the printers; and gas ranges and tubs for the domestic science classes. It is doubtful whether any colored school in any city can offer greater opportunities to colored boys and girls.

And now to the second part of the question: Do colored graduates enter and succeed in the positions for which they have been trained? As a preliminary to answering this query, let us first see what trades and professions they have already entered. The following table shows the occupations of colored high school graduates covering the period from 1895 to 1911.

TABLE XLIV.

OCCUPATIONS OF COLORED HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES.  
1895—1911.

Total number.....	606
Those engaged in, or prepared for, teaching.....	288
Entered college.....	49
Clerical work.....	43
Post office clerks.....	30
Entered business.....	4
Mechanics.....	17
Women at home or married.....	120
Miscellaneous.....	32
Unknown.....	23

The table shows that approximately one-half of the colored graduates have entered teaching, one-fifth are married, or living at home, the last class consisting mostly of women. The males have entered college, clerical work, and the federal service in about equal proportions. Only 4 entered business; 17, mechanical trades; 32 engaging in miscellaneous employments; and of 23 the occupation is unknown. The limited fields for colored graduates is strikingly revealed. Obviously the colored race is not getting an adequate dividend for its expenditure of money in training these graduates. Doubtless it is a source of satisfaction to them personally to be *educated*, but they are not paying for their training in adequate service.

to the race. Education is necessary, but the using of it when attained is the important thing. It must be remembered that the vocational courses have only been introduced within the last year or two, and that this explains why so few have followed up those lines of work. The biggest problem for the colored school authorities today is not the education of colored students but placing them where they can use the education already acquired. These graduates, the choicest products of the colored race, must occupy the vantage points in the industrial struggle, where their talents will count for the most. Graduates should not be encouraged to enter the professions and teaching for those lines are now overcrowded. Let them enter the mechanical trades or business among their own race, in which field they can do more than in the professions. The opportunities are within reach, for within the last two years the principal of the high school has placed many promising colored male graduates. A number of colored female graduates have found work as bookkeepers and stenographers with entrepreneurs of their own race. Stress should be laid on placing as many graduates in as many different occupations as possible, instead of massing them in two or three fields of work. The work before the educational authorities is broad; its importance is evident. If teachers would make their work count for the most, if they would perform the highest service, let them educate and supervise these choicest products of the race entrusted to their care, so that they in turn may go out as leaders and workers in the industrial advancement of the colored race.

#### 6. Women's Group.

The work of the colored woman is of much importance in a discussion of the industrial conditions. The colored man would often find himself financially stranded if it were not for the additional income earned by his wife. For a long time to come colored women will be called upon to supplement the family income. Yet no race of female wage earners works under greater difficulties or in such restricted fields. The white woman may fit herself for business; she may enter the factory, or engage in the better paid lines of personal service. Her wages, although much too low, are higher than those received by her colored sisters. And eventually marriage will solve all financial difficulties for her. Not so with the colored woman. Her financial problems are increased by marriage; she must labor that the home may be maintained. Her earnings are absolutely essential to the family, and more varied and remunerative occupations will mean a better standard of living.

##### a. Laundresses.

A large percentage of the colored female workers, 57.2 percent, are engaged in laundry work. In the last decade, however, the steam laundry with its modern and superior methods has taken a considerable portion of this trade away from the colored women. Work is done better and more cheaply by machinery than by hand. The colored laundress is forced by this new competition to do more work at a less wage than formerly. Very few colored women are employed by steam laundries, because the white laundry workers are unionized, and oppose the entrance of colored women into this work. The few so employed work in the steam laundry, owned by Negroes.

## b. Personal Service Workers.

The housekeepers are engaged in various colored families and earn little more than their board and lodging. Housegirls work in private families, not only performing general household tasks, but attending to the smaller children. Often they act as maids to their mistresses. Colored pantry girls would be better classified as waitresses. Colored lodging and boarding housekeepers earn their livelihood by keeping colored roomers and boarders. Dr. G. E. Haynes in his study includes the boarding houses as businesses, and while in a sense they are, this study does not so class them. Few of them have more than five or six lodgers. The boarding and rooming of colored people is undertaken merely to supplement their regular earnings. With the great number of unmarried men and women constantly streaming cityward, there must be a large number of families offering meals and lodging to these newcomers. The colored cooks and waitresses mentioned are employed in colored restaurants. There is, however, a large number of cooks employed by private families. Nearly every boarding house has its colored female cook. Chamber maids are found in second class hotels but the white girls seem to have displaced them in better hotels. One theatre for white patrons in St. Louis uses negro girls as ushers, for which work they receive \$6.00 per week. The two principal personal service groups are housegirls and cooks. Colored scrubbers and cleaners might also be considered as a related occupation. The colored women go to the residence and do scrubbing, cleaning, dusting, washing and many other menial household tasks by the day. The daily wages paid range from \$1.00 to \$1.50. Most of the colored women stipulate that meals and carfare shall be provided in addition to the regular wage, when they travel some distance from home. Very few women work more than three or four days per week, making the average weekly wage approximately \$4.50. In talking to many housewives who employ colored women, it was found that colored help is slow; often inefficient, and not very dependable. No general statement, covering the entire group, can be made, and the above comments must be qualified with the suggestion that most housewives are more or less exacting. The statistics of the State Free Employment Bureau seem to show that as a class colored women are reliable, but the number of examples is so meager, and representative of so few occupations, that they will not permit of generalization.

## c. Factory Workers.

The factory industries in which the colored woman may work are two: the nut cracking establishments and tobacco factories. Both occupations are poorly paid and undesirable. Only the lower class of white girls and colored girls will work in these establishments. The wages paid range from \$4.00 to \$7.00 per week, with an average of \$5.00. There is no opportunity to advance. According to employers, colored girls are as efficient as white girls. The supply of colored female labor is sufficient for all purposes. The sack patchers simply patch and mend old sacks which have been used. It is not surprising that colored female labor is not used more largely, since there is a superabundant supply of white female labor.

## d. Other Female Workers.

*A majority of the colored female clerks are employed in department*



stores. This fact, however, is not known to the employer. There are a few negro women of very light color, who are working in the finest stores of the city. They are efficient saleswomen, and as a consequence are steadily employed throughout the year. The colored stock women are employed in furniture and department stores to dust and arrange the reserve stocks. One colored entrepreneur employs four colored girls in these capacities. Female stenographers and bookkeepers work for colored proprietors or professional men. The colored business women do not have any opportunity to engage in this work except for their own people.

The professions among colored women are represented by school and music teachers, seamstresses, nurses, hair dressers and actresses. The actresses mentioned are all amateurs and frequently used to fill in the regular bill. The school teachers number 158, all of whom are employed in the colored grade schools and the Sumner High School. They receive monthly salaries ranging from \$20 to \$140 per month for a ten months' year. The majority of them are graduates of the colored schools of the city. It seems the ambition of every colored girl graduating from the high school to teach. If she fails to secure a position there is little left to do but to engage in personal service. There is no reason why female graduates could not perfect themselves in domestic science and housekeeping. Such courses are offered by the Sumner High School. Skill and knowledge would enable them to get adequate wages in the best families of the city. In time they would be looked upon as the most desirable, domestic and personal service help. Many have thought this beneath their dignity, but anything is better than idleness or inaction.

The colored female music teachers and seamstresses are engaged in work among their own people. The colored hair dressers and midwives also confine their service to members of their own race. Most of the hair dressers simply follow this occupation in connection with their house work. The colored female nurses are either in the employ of the colored Provident Hospital, or the local life insurance companies, which do a business among the Negroes. In examining the requirements for graduations of colored workers at the Provident Hospital the author was surprised to find them so thorough. They are well up to the requirements of the average school of nursing. All candidates for the certificate are high school graduates, and one is a college graduate. If colored people realized the thorough training and fitness of these nurses for their work, they would not hesitate to discard midwives. There is but one colored probation officer in the Juvenile Court, who handles all colored children coming before the court.

#### e. Occupational Comparison of Colored and White Workers.

An occupational comparison of the women in St. Louis according to general nativity and color brings out some striking facts. The figures quoted in the table are for 1900.

TABLE XLV.\*

Occupational Comparison of Female Wage Earners, Ten Years and Over,  
by General Nativity and Color.

Occupations	Total	N. W. N. P.	N. W. F. P.	Foreign Born	Negro
Agriculture .....	63	13	24	26	....
Professions .....	3,464	1,267	1,631	401	164
Domestic and Personal Service.	23,928	4,821	8,388	4,616	6,102
Trade and Transportation ..	8,761	3,123	4,798	800	38
Manufacture .....	18,290	4,682	11,095	2,206	304
Female Workers...	54,506	13,908	25,936	8,049	6,608
Females .....	229,797	63,906	98,817	51,467	15,593
Percent of					
Females at work	23.7	21.7	26.2	15.6	42.3

A glance at the table shows the rigid exclusion of colored women from the professions, trade and transportation and manufacturing. This holds true for the foreign born women except in manufacturing. The native whites of both native and foreign parentage are found in considerable numbers in all the groups. Personal service engages over nine-tenths of the total number of colored women, about one-half of the foreign born women, approximately one-third of the native white of foreign parentage, and not quite one-third of the native whites of native parentage. Aside from factory work foreign white women do not have a greater diversity of occupations than colored women. The proportion of working women to the number of women ten years of age and over is also given in the table. Negro women stand first with a percentage of 42.3, native whites and native whites of foreign parentage show percentages of 21.7 and 26.2 respectively. The foreign born women have a much lower percentage—15.6, due to the relatively small number of unmarried women in this group. It is plainly apparent that colored women are narrowly restricted to a few occupations, menial and undesirable in their nature. Indications are that a large percentage of the group will remain in these occupations. The only chance for bettering themselves is to prove more efficient in their work, and hence command a greater wage. There is a continual demand for the kind of labor which the colored women have to offer. An effort should be made to find positions for all girls who graduate from the High School. Possibly another line of factory work might be found for many reliable girls if the attempt were made. More graduates might be placed in the smaller towns as school teachers. At any rate the problem of the woman wage earner demands the continuous attention of educational authorities and colored leaders.

\*Census of 1900, Volume on Occupations, p. 708, et seq.

\*Census of 1900, Population, Part II, p. 143.

## CHAPTER V

### GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### A. GENERAL SUMMARY.

In order that the results and deductions of this study may be compressed in a few pages for immediate reference, it was thought best to give a concise summary of the whole study. In the initial chapter, inquiry was made into the size and location of the urban negro problem, and the relation which the urban problem bore to the whole question. It was found that urban Negroes constituted 27.4 percent of the entire negro population and that of this approximate one-fourth of the colored race 32 percent lived in the north. Obviously the Negro is still a southern problem. Statistics plainly indicate that negro urban population is increasing at a faster rate than negro rural population, but the growth is a normal one, and characteristic of all elements in our population. Negro urban population is increasing at a slightly more rapid rate in northern cities than is the total population and the reverse is true in southern cities. The large percentages of Negroes living in southern cities indicated that the south as well as the north has a negro urban problem. Varying rates of increase in every section of the country reveal the need of local studies. In cities having smaller negro groups, the rate of increase was less rapid, it being greatest in the south, the west and the north central divisions. The principal reason for the lesser rate of increase is due to a smaller demand for unskilled labor than exists in cities of the metropolitan class. The next sections treated of St. Louis negro population and the importance of St. Louis as a negro urban center. The city has a negro population ranking fourth among northern cities, comparing in size most nearly to Chicago's negro population. However, many points of difference in the two cities which doubtless affect the industrial opportunities of Negroes, were noted. Chicago has a foreign born population over six times as large as that of St. Louis, and the industries of the two cities differ in variety and magnitude. St. Louis has a large german group, while Chicago is more of a northern city of the cosmopolitan type. Only local studies could settle points concerning their similarity or dissimilarity. The fact that St. Louis has only 18.3 percent foreign born may be taken as favorable to the negro laborer, as it is with them that he must generally compete. St. Louis' industries, such as lead factories, meat packing plant, iron and steel mills and freight houses, offer an abundance of opportunity for unskilled labor.

There are five colored districts, two of them located in the very heart of the city. Housing conditions are bad, over-crowding is common, but to no greater extent than exists in districts peopled by other races living on the same economic plane. Two of the residence districts are very desirable, both as to their location and the character of the dwellings. The negro wage-earning population is composed of 17,348 males and 7,758 females, 10 years of age and over. An interesting feature of the population was the few wage-earners from 10 to 16 years of age, due to the exclusion of negro boys and girls from factory work. Contrary to the situation in most cities, St. Louis has more colored males than females. The large percentage of males 21 years of age and upwards is a result of the strong demand for unskilled labor.

In the chapter on wages and occupations the entire number of wage earners was considered. Over 226 different occupations were found in which Negroes were engaged. The occupations naturally fall into the following groups: Professional, Business, Clerical, Personal Service, Artisan, Factory, Common Labor, Boys and Women. Another division of groups might be made by taking the first three as those who earn their bread by mental toil, and the remaining six groups as those who live by manual toil. Nine-tenths of all the wage earners are found within the last four groups. If the artisan group is included, the percentage rises to 96. Here is where the great mass of negro wage earners are to be found, engaging in unskilled occupations, none of which, with the exception of the factory group, offer any great possibility of advancement. The great problem in cities is to better the economic condition of this unskilled nine-tenths. Barely four percent of negro workers earn their living by mental toil. An encouraging shifting of negro wage earners from group to group was detected. The factory and common labor groups have grown at the expense of the personal service group, which includes the least desirable occupations of all. Still personal service claims 37 per cent, considerably over one-third of the total number of wage earners. The percentages for other groups are: factory, 20.3; common labor, 29.1; boys, 6.2; artisan, 3.0; clerical, 1.7; business, 1.8; professional, 0.5. The greatest chance to advance is to be found in the factory and artisan groups. It is fortunate for the race that St. Louis Negroes are not massed in any one group of occupations, as is true of New York Negroes, who are concentrated in personal service. The range of occupations for women has hardly widened in the past decade. The occupational comparison of colored and white wage earners for 1900 showed that whites had twice the proportion in professional service, a much larger percentage in trade and transportation, and three times as many workers in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. The Negroes exceed the whites in personal service three times over.

Wage statistics showed that the average weekly wage for different groups were: professional, \$29.76; business, \$16.50; clerical, \$19.26; artisan, \$16.45; personal service, \$10.86; factory, \$13.76; common labor, \$13.86; boys, \$5.34; women, \$5.88. Over three-fourths of the colored male workers receive an average weekly wage under \$15.00; one-half of them average under \$12.00. An estimate based on all available data showed that the total yearly earnings of St. Louis colored wage earners totaled approximately \$12,000,000, and certainly much in excess of eleven million. Of this amount

two and one-tenth millions were contributed by the women; over nine-tenths of this income is earned and expended by the unskilled negro laborers, who live on a low economic plane. A noteworthy fact is the ability of colored men to vary their occupations to suit conditions. Scanty data from the State Free Employment Bureau gave the Negro a good work record. There is very limited means open to the Negro for securing employment through the labor agencies. The unskilled negro problem is only a part of that greater city problem, namely, the bettering of the industrial conditions of the poor.

The professional, business and clerical workers were considered together as they earn their livelihood by mental toil. The first group are the best paid members of the colored race. Most of them are well prepared in their chosen fields and compare favorably with professional workers among the whites. Though restricted in their practice they still have great opportunities for service to their race, in raising standards and leading the masses up to a higher economic plane. Much is still to be gained through cooperation of leaders. The growth of the group will be slow because all opportunities are at present very well exploited.

The business group has greater possibilities for growth. The large majority of business enterprises have sprung up within the last ten years. Approximately a quarter of a million dollars is invested in St. Louis colored enterprises, and this capital is distributed through many fields and not massed in a few lines of business. Entrepreneurs started with very small capital and within a comparatively short time have built up their business to respectable proportions. The estimated yearly sales are in excess of \$1,000,000, or about eight or nine percent of the estimated annual earnings of the colored people of St. Louis. Indications show that business growth will be more rapid in the future than in the past. Many lines of business are yet unoccupied. In comparison with New York, St. Louis has more business enterprises in proportion to its population. There is no limit to the expansion of business managed by colored entrepreneurs if the colored people themselves would patronize members of their own race. However entrepreneurs must not appeal to color, unless they fairly meet the service and prices of their white competitors. The future of the colored business entrepreneurs is most promising, in the light of the progress already made.

The clerical workers are largely engaged in federal or municipal service, are well paid and efficient but comparatively few in numbers. The group will not naturally increase until Negroes become more extensively engaged in commercial enterprises. The general exclusion of Negroes from all places where they might acquire business training is a severe handicap.

The lowest paid and least desirable group is composed of the personal service workers. Aside from the Pullman and hotel service the workers are engaged in menial, disagreeable tasks. The group is declining, probably losing its members to the factory and common labor groups. There is practically no chance for advancement in any occupation of the group.

The most skillful and well paid of all the manual laborers are the *artisan workers*. They are composed mainly of building laborers and chauffeurs. The number in the group could be increased if colored labor were

more largely utilized through the agency of an employment and wrecking bureau, similar to the one in operation in Kansas City. Additions to the group are few because of the hostility of white labor unions.

The relation of Negroes to white labor unions is an open question. A very small percentage of colored workers are at present eligible for membership. And for the unions to admit them under such conditions would lower the standard of efficiency. The Negroes are on the same plane as the foreigners or the unskilled Americans. But if denied entrance this should not deter Negroes from organizing. The inclusion of sufficient numbers to affect the supremacy of the white unions will result in their admission on equal terms. The greatest hope of all toilers lies in organization. Colored local unions are well governed and conducted, but receive little support from white locals.

The factory group has grown faster than any other group. Negroes have an excellent foothold in the iron and steel mills. They are well paid and have greater opportunity to advance than in any other group of manual toilers. Inquiry, on the part of negro leaders, might disclose other factory opportunities for members of their race. There seems to be a movement from the personal service and common labor groups to the factory group; which will eventually make this body of workers equal in numbers to any other.

The common laborers are massed largely in the occupations of teaming, building material labor, and common labor of various sorts. They are fairly well paid, not particularly discriminated against because of color, and are equal in efficiency, but not in steadiness, to their co-laborers. The group will always be large because of the great amount of unskilled labor to be performed.

Investigation showed that very few industrial opportunities are offered to colored boys and many of these are financially and morally undesirable. There is little child labor among the colored youth. A large problem in connection with the boys' work is that of placing colored high school graduates in responsible positions after they have fitted themselves for usefulness. It is incumbent upon the school authorities to see that the fruits of their study and preparation are not wasted.

Women are largely engaged in personal service and have made very little industrial progress in the last decade. Factory work is practically out of their reach and there are no professional or business opportunities, aside from teaching. The colored woman, however, is an important factor in supplementing the family income and her presence as a wage earner will be absolutely necessary for some time to come. This brief summary includes only the most important facts brought out by the study.

## B. CONCLUSION.

The purpose of this section is to review conditions and suggest a practical program of industrial reform. It is worth much to know the industrial conditions of the colored race in St. Louis but it is worth more to use this knowledge to advantage in the work of reform. A program ought to contain a well organized plan covering, not months, but years. Here is the colored race in need of better industrial opportunities and of higher *standards of living*. To accomplish the task will take years and even decades.

A careful, well organized movement extending over a long period of time, carried out by earnest and able leaders will be the only successful plan. In default of a practical program, the Negro will be buffeted here and there in the field of industry, his economic status controlled by circumstances and chance.

The largest share of the duty rests upon the colored people themselves. The greatest measure of progress will come when they strive to help themselves, and do not wait for other races to aid them. The theory of universal brotherhood is a splendid theory, more of which needs to be put into practice; but a race will, in the end, receive as much recognition as its own merits warrant. The Negro is not now considered the brother of the white, but may come to be so considered when he lives up to all his opportunities and approaches the economic status of the white. More progress must come through the Negro himself. The whites may clear the road of many obstacles, but the Negro must do the travelling.

A discussion of industrial conditions revealed much discrimination and prejudice; it laid bare the selfish motives of white workers both in the union and out of it; it cited instances where negro labor was exploited and kept in dangerous, unhealthful occupations. But the discussion also showed the improvidence of the Negro, his unsteadiness, his lack of ambition to rise higher and his inability to realize a race consciousness. In many cases he has shown himself to be unworthy of a better position because he would not attend to the one he already has. Many ardent, but misguided enthusiasts, grow eloquent over the fact that the Negro is on so low an economic plane, that he is barred from the better occupations and forced to do unskilled labor. Such a condition of affairs is all too true, but race prejudice is not the only factor in conditions. Practical considerations enter in to affect his economic status. Suppose that all the skilled trades were thrown open to the Negro. Is it reasonable to suppose that he would enter them more quickly than those among the native whites and foreigners who at present have that chance but do not avail themselves of it? If the field of business were freely opened to him would he leave the foundry and become a bookkeeper or a stenographer? Here are foreigners and native whites working in the same occupations with him, with the opportunity to advance, but continuing in the same unskilled occupations. The doors of industrial opportunity will never be thrown wide open to the Negro. He will have to force them open by throwing against them the weight of solid achievement. Why has the Jew succeeded? He was subjected for hundreds of years to the worst persecution ever borne by any race. He could not be dispensed with because he was of economic value and though socially restricted, no doors of industrial opportunity have been closed to him for any length of time. A race will be pretty much what it wills to be. Let the Negro determine to enter the skilled trades and he will do it. It may take a long time, with many disappointments, but if he perseveres, he will reach the goal. Color, social position, or opportunity may be potent factors in industrial advancement for a time, but economic values will ultimately outweigh them all.

If the labor of the Negro becomes profitable he will advance. If he *enters a certain trade which has been unionized and gathers a sufficient number of his fellows to threaten white union supremacy, he will soon be*

admitted to the union. But to claim equal opportunity on the grounds of brotherhood and freedom will not do. Practical conditions, not ideals, still govern the industrial world. So, the Negro must fit himself for higher pursuits if he is to attain them. If the colored man wishes to enter the trades let the leaders see that adequate industrial training is provided. If he wishes to enter broader fields of business, let him first show that he can succeed among his own race. Discrimination will tend to force him to engage in business with his own people. This will mean that the colored race will be adequately supplied with entrepreneurs. Other races, especially the foreign born, who are working under handicaps, although not to the same degree as the Negro, are making progress. The Negro must also advance or remain the lowest class of wage earners. He has ability and talent and understands the American people and present conditions better than incoming races. What he needs is stability, ambition, the spirit to achieve, the desire to rise.

And what is the duty of the white race toward the Negro? He cannot better himself without the aid of the dominant race. Much has been done for the Negro already, but greater deeds lie in the future. The American people must rid themselves of that prejudice which is born of ignorance. The main reason for prejudice against the Negro, or for that matter, against any foreign race, is that the average citizen knows little about them. It is entirely safe to say that the Negro knows more about the white man than the white man knows about the Negro. We have failed to consider, or investigate, the industrial phase of the negro question. And when the races come in conflict in the industrial world the white man looks only to his own welfare. The white man must accord industrial opportunity to the Negro just as quickly as he is worthy of it. And more than that the white man should help to fit the Negro for better occupations. If trade training is needed, let it be provided. If the Negro wishes to enter the professions, he should be able to study within the state. If he engages in business, give him a chance to compete fairly, instead of using underhanded methods against him. It is probably true that the Negro is much more desirable and profitable in certain lines of industry than certain classes of the new immigrants. The white men should realize this and help the Negro to render his best possible service. If we hold the Negro back, failing to utilize all his economic value, we are retarding our own progress.

The employer also has an important role to play. The negro race will remain a race of wage earners if they depend for their living upon labor performed for others. The responsibility of the employer is great because he can largely influence their industrial future. The Negro should not be exploited, or used as a club over the heads of labor unions. On the contrary the employer should urge the Negroes to join the unions and increase their efficiency. The advice, coming from this source, would carry with it unusual weight. The Negro is a willing worker and he is not hard to manage if he is treated fairly. In many industries the Negro would be a better worker if the employer took the pains to improve his efficiency. The whole problem of unskilled workers, of which Negro labor forms only a part, should receive earnest and constant consideration. The solution of *the negro problem* demands the co-operation of all races and classes



men, because negro problems are national problems. With this in mind all should work together to make social justice and equal industrial opportunity a reality.

Several colored leaders in St. Louis, from all walks of life, were asked to answer briefly the following question: "What, in your opinion, is the best means of bettering the industrial conditions of the colored race here in St. Louis?" The question was meant to have a local application, only considering the negro population of this city. Not all of the leaders asked, submitted a reply. However, the following are here set down:

CHAS. C. CLARK, of Clark & Smith, Men's Furnishings Goods Store.

"In answer to your request for my views as to 'What would tend toward the betterment of my race socially?' I herewith submit the following:

"A social settlement quarter established in a negro settlement teaching the trades, academic studies, holding religious services, reading rooms, etc., in other words such a place as a manual training school where these things may be learned free or with very little expense, I feel this would be a wonderful uplift to our people in this community.

"Another idea is, that in our public schools, especially colored, great emphasis be put on the teaching of Ethics. This is a broad subject, covering many good points and the teaching of it is seriously neglected in the homes. The parents of the majority of our children both work away from home, leaving the children to the school and streets to come up as they will, while there are other parents who are neglectful, so that if this subject be drilled daily in the children in the schools, this training would grow up in them making better and stronger men and women."

MR. H. S. FERGUSON, of the St. Louis Delicatessen Company.

"My opinion regarding the question, 'What is the best means of bettering the industrial condition of the colored race in St. Louis,' is the giving and carrying out of a systematic line of instruction, showing the importance of co-operation among the colored people themselves in an industrial way as well as socially.

"Pride and confidence in their own people being established, improvement industrially, morally and socially, will follow rapidly."

MR. C. K. ROBINSON, of the Robinson Printing Company.

"I feel that the Negroes of St. Louis can ask for nothing more than the establishing of these great principles of the Southern Sociological Congress, 'Justice and Love,' which means better homes and better opportunity. From comparative statistics it was shown that the statements, that a greater percentage of Negroes in the large cities die from tuberculosis and other diseases than whites are due to improper and unsanitary homes. The Congress seeks to correct this evil by making uniform laws, placing the responsibility upon the landlords, by condemning all such buildings and death traps. The same conditions obtain among whites where such homes are used.

"The hour of opportunity of the church for social service, as found in the address of Dr. John A. Rice of Forth Worth, Texas, the putting *into the lives of the people* the spirit of Christ as outlined by the Master in *its entirety*, viz: 'The Apostle's Creed,' the 'Ten Commandments,' and the

greatest of these, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'; in fact, thus giving the Negro an equal opportunity to labor and to love."

MR. CHARLES H. TURPIN, Constable of the Fourth District Court.

"Answering briefly as suggested, I will say: More employment by the employing classes. I could not give you a better answer (in my judgment) as to the initial step toward 'bettering the industrial conditions of the colored people of St. Louis.'"

MR. FRANK E. WILLIAMS, Principal of the Sumner High School.

"Immediate effort should be made to bring the Unions to see that the policy of excluding persons from membership on account of color partially nullifies their great appeal for justice. The acceptance of colored persons in all the Unions, on the same basis that white persons are accepted, will open a doorway for service, which will better the industrial condition of the colored people of St. Louis.

"An insistence upon the doctrine—'All 'men up' and that other good American doctrine—'A square deal' will gradually change customs and traditions and modify prejudice."

MR. DAVID E. GORDON, Principal of the L'Ouverture School.

"In answer to your question, 'What can be done to improve the industrial conditions among the Negroes of St. Louis,' I beg to say that first find out just what these conditions are. Secondly, aim to bring about a better understanding between the two races. Thirdly, bring together the best of both races to accomplish this end."

MR. W. P. CURTIS, M. D.

"Open every industrial door to the aspiring boy and girl—give them a fair chance to work and advance and there will be no backward or dependent group along the color lines.

"If the great captians of industry had the business sagacity to capitalize this large group of willing workers—a splendid group that cannot be duplicated by transportation of races from any part of the old world—the Negro's social and industrial condition would be bettered—the whole group bettered."

These replies suggest many excellent ideas on race betterment from an industrial standpoint. All of these colored leaders clearly realize the handicaps under which their race is laboring. However, they differ as to the means by which the end in view is to be accomplished. The business man suggests co-operation and the teaching of ethics in the schools; the professional man believes that there should be greater opportunities for the young colored people; those who realize the living conditions of the race advocate social reform. It is fortunate that each has his own viewpoint because the ideas of all are needed to work out a plan of reform. There is a tendency to expect the white man to take the initiative and extend industrial opportunity, rather than for the race to seek those opportunities themselves. The action must come from both races. The white man must give the Negro a chance, and the Negro must prove himself worthy of it. *More emphasis ought to be put upon self help. From the reading of the letters it is evident that these colored leaders in St. Louis are*

ing to give of their time and effort in the endeavor to better the industrial condition of the local negro population.

What practical plan can be inaugurated for the reform of industrial conditions? Having always in mind the advancement of their race, they would patronize their own business men and urge their followers and friends to do likewise. Prices being equal, and the quality of goods the same, they would always give their patronage to the colored business man. They should attract promising business and professional men to St. Louis and give them a hearty welcome. It is not beyond the power of local people to establish other branches of business. A co-operative shoe store, a dry goods store, and a bank would thrive if the colored people would properly support them. It is not so much a question of securing capital as it is a question of securing efficient management and of co-operation.

An employment bureau, such as is operated by the Afro-American Employment and Investment Company of Kansas City, should be established. There are hundreds of colored laborers who are seeking employment, at a great loss of time. An employment bureau, charging a nominal fee, would enable the worker and the employer to get together. It is certain that the employer would welcome such an institution if only for purely financial reasons. The women engaged in various occupations would have a better chance to market their labor. Workers in undesirable industries could be guided into the better occupations. Great possibilities could result from the establishment of a negro employment bureau. The success of the employment bureau could be furthered by interviews with white employers regarding the welfare of negro workers. If an active campaign for industrial opportunities and better conditions of labor were made among the white employers, there is little doubt of securing helpful results. Dean Thomas of Tuskegee realized the value of this plan and suggested it in his letter. The colored leaders must be the spokesmen for the workers. They must place these questions before the employer for the worker cannot do so. As a class employers are fair minded and would give serious consideration to pleas of colored leaders. The least that could be expected would be a respectful hearing. The plan is well worth trying. There should be an active campaign of education carried on among the whites. Prejudice is largely due to ignorance. The average white man knows very little about the negro race in general, and still less about the better individuals in it. He comes in contact with the Negro only when travelling on a Pullman, or when he hires a chauffeur, or uses colored labor in the factory. But he is entirely unacquainted with the Negro's living conditions, or his outlook on life.

One feature in a progressive program to secure better industrial conditions for the colored race, is co-operation among leaders. There is no lack of leaders among the Negroes. The preacher and the professional man have their following; the politician leads another contingent; the business man has influence with still another class; and the factory foreman asserts his leadership over his fellows. The trouble is that these leaders themselves will not co-operate. The race has factions led by men, some of whom will not help unless they lead. Some fear that their influence *will be undermined through co-operation with others. Others care little for race betterment as long as their particular interests do not suffer. The*

higher classes of colored men do not manifest sufficient sympathy for the lower classes, and the poor unjustly condemn the rich. The writer has had a chance to know colored men of every degree and station who have placed some confidence in him, although a member of another race, and it is too true that there are jealousies, misunderstandings, and selfishness between the lower and higher classes, and among the members of every class. The colored race has yet to develop that race consciousness which is so potent in the progress of other races. The best place to begin this is among the leaders themselves. The business and professional men should get together and exchange ideas about their fields and the condition of the rest of the race. Meetings should be frequently held and matters of vital interest discussed. A colored Physicians' Association, a Colored Business Men's League, a Forum Club, and a Social Service League already exist, all rendering a particular kind of service. What is most needed now is a federation of those organizations which will bring the leaders in various fields together for more effective service. School teachers, business men, professional men, clerical workers, politicians and labor leaders; all colored men who exert considerable influence in their field should be included. Those leaders who engage in manual labor should be represented because they frequently know more about actual conditions in their field than the members in the higher classes can ever know. It would be a signal achievement if the leaders became better acquainted with each other, and a greater gain if they could be induced to co-operate. Co-operation is the most difficult achievement for any race. Even the white race is just beginning to co-operate in earnest and has much still to accomplish. And because of the lower economic level of the Negro, co-operation is needed more by him than by the white race. The paramount question in the minds of the leaders should be, not who is to do the leading, but what is to be done.

More publicity must be given to the race through the press and in other ways. The colored leaders should avail themselves of every opportunity to tell the whites of the conditions of the race. Addresses and speeches by colored men before such members of the general public as could be interested would be helpful. There is more possibility in the last suggestion than might be pre-supposed. Let knowledge be dispensed among the white leaders and good results will follow. The recent agitation over segregation of the Negroes is due largely to ignorance on the part of the whites who have practically no first hand knowledge of the living conditions of the Negroes. The negro race must feel the value of stating its own side of the race question.

Much valuable work can be carried on in the schools of the city. As has been shown, the hope of the race is in the youth. Ethics, race pride, and race consciousness must be developed in the colored race of tomorrow. They must feel that upon them rests the responsibilities and with them lies the future of the colored race. A very practical investigation could be furthered by the school authorities, having for its object the finding of greater industrial opportunities for colored graduates. These are the choicest products of the colored race, and adequate industrial opportunity is as important as thorough training. Some work is being done along this line by local school authorities which promises good results.

These are a few of the principal suggestions that have come to mind in studying the industrial conditions of the colored race. Many more could be stated but the above seem the most practicable for present service. Not a single suggestion offered is impossible of accomplishment by the colored people if they set themselves to it. It is largely a matter of self-dependence, of earnest work, and continuous effort. If co-operation is realized, the colored race will advance. If the logical leaders refuse to lead and the people to follow, chance and circumstance will determine the future. Let not the race bemoan its present state but look to the future which is full of promise. Let them not expect too much help from the white race or the employer but depend more largely upon themselves. Co-operation, faith in each other, ambition to achieve, will work out a destiny of which the colored race will be proud.

**INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES  
IN ST. LOUIS**

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**APPENDICES A, B AND C**

APPENDIX A.  
SAMPLE NEGRO BUSINESS ENTERPRISES.

No. 1. This undertaker started in business 19 years ago in partnership with another undertaker of the city. After 8 years they separated, each building up substantial enterprises. He has the finest of rolling stock, equipment, horses, cabs and stables. His plant is valued at approximately \$50,000. He employs seven Negroes regularly. This colored man is one of the most substantial business men of the colored race in St. Louis.

No. 2. Is also an undertaker who began business 19 years ago. He was born in Tennessee and reared by white people. Starting in business with \$250 borrowed money, he has built up the largest undertaking establishment in the city. At present he has over \$7000 worth of rolling stock, 2 hearses, 18 head of horses, several cabs, wagons, and equipment, besides the chapel and establishment itself. He is heavily interested in other colored business enterprises of the city, and is a liberal contributor to lodges and to his church. The volume of business for last year was approximately \$55,000. This shows what hard work and steady effort will do against all odds.

No. 3. This undertaker was reared in St. Louis and may be considered, with the two just mentioned, a pioneer in the field of business. While a porter in the Pullman service he became interested in undertaking and would visit establishments at both ends of his run. Receiving encouragement from a white man, he began operations seven years ago with a capital of \$700. In that time besides building up a successful undertaking business of approximately \$20,000 per year, and paying for plant, residence, rolling stock, he has acquired business interests elsewhere. He employs 6 men, and has trained many successful undertakers located in various parts of the Union.

No. 4. This colored business man was encouraged by a white man to rent a frame shack, and start a lunch counter business. Hiring a cook he began business with \$85 invested in fixtures and \$25 in cash. He had no home, so slept under the counter so as to be in a position to serve belated customers. From 1904, the date of beginning business, to 1913, his capital has been increased to over \$8000. He employs 53 people, maintains 6 establishments, and a commissary store. One of the finest restaurants to be found in any negro quarter in any city is the "Silver Grill," owned by this colored man. His accounts and business dealings are recorded in the most accurate and up-to-date manner.

No. 5. Another colored restaurateur began business four years ago. He had formerly worked as a teamster and dining car cook. His first place of business was a small tent on a side street. Later he rented a wooden shack and now he has a fine building with modern equipment. His capital at the beginning was \$25, which he has increased to \$1500.

No. 6. The Poro College is a school for the treatment of the scalp, by methods taught in a short course, and by the use of an ointment prepared only by the head of this institution. While yet a girl in high school, the proprietress began to experiment with different chemicals in order to discover if possible some form of hair tonic that would really be a benefit to the colored race. She finally succeeded and today her discovery is being

used by thousands of her people. She and her associates have built up an enormous business which employs 25 people, and has 1500 agents throughout the United States and other countries. The school itself administers treatment as well as forwards the preparations to the agents. This colored business ranks among the largest in St. Louis. The foundress of the business is as yet a young woman, and her great success is an achievement seldom equalled by one of her sex.

No. 7. This druggist has been engaged in business for 14 years, coming here from the south. He increased his first capital of \$900 to \$6000, and at present is proprietor of two stores. Both establishments are attractive and the stocks are new and tastfully arranged. The success of this man, and for that matter of the majority of colored business men, has been due to the friendship and associations with all classes of the colored race. Confidence has been inspired, and consequently business has grown.

No. 8. This druggist, formerly of Arkansas, bought a drug store a year and a half ago. Already he reports a good increase in trade. Approximately \$3000 capital has been invested in the business. The appearance of the store is excelled by few white drug stores. The trade is mostly colored, with only an occasional white customer. The colored drug stores of St. Louis are a credit to the colored race.

No. 9. This man was porter in a wholesale dry goods store for over 30 years. A year ago he decided to establish a dry goods and notion store. He still keeps his porter position, and with the aid of his wife and daughter manages the store. His stock amounts to \$1200, and he reports a steady increase in business. The stock consists of men's and women's furnishings and notions. Eventually he expects to give his entire time to the management of the business.

No. 10. Is a printing shop which has experienced the same rapid progress which has characterized other business enterprises. The proprietor has been in business for seven years. His first capital consisted of a small press, a rack, type, and cutting machine, in a room 8x12 feet. At the present time he has three times as much machinery, \$500 worth of stock continually on hand, employs 5 people, and does a yearly business amounting to over \$8000.

No. 11. This colored proprietor manages a photograph gallery, which he established 9 years ago. His capital at the beginning was small, and the present capital could not be ascertained. His monthly sales amount to \$225 per month, and rent paid is \$50 per month. He is a portrait painter, inventor of Sexton's Electric Developer, a photographic device which makes possible night exposures of the camera. His trade is colored, although he has had a few white customers during his business career.

No. 12. This colored tailor acquired a thorough knowledge of his trade in Tuskegee Institute. With a capital of \$75 he began business three years ago. According to his own statement his business capital totals \$1000, and sales range from \$150 to \$175 monthly. Various schemes were used to attract colored trade, one being a free Bell telephone. Another tailor shop did a considerable business among colored women, the wife of the proprietor having learned ladies' tailoring.

No. 13. Is a barber who operates two shops, one in a downtown district, the other in a white residence district. He employs 5 men, and



been in business 12 years. He does not contemplate a very bright future, or very large increase in the volume of his business. He caters to white trade only, and not to the most desirable trade.

No. 14. Is another barber, whose shop is located in a desirable business district. He employs 4 men, pays \$40 per month rent; receipts total \$85 per week. His trade consists of a high class of whites. He began 4 years ago with a capital of \$350, which has been increased to \$1400. This colored man is of the opinion that if satisfaction is given color will make little difference.

No. 15. Is a theatre manager who also holds the only elective municipal office filled by a Negro. He started 2 years ago in a tent, running a picture show. In a very short time he rented a frame building. Success was phenomenal and crowds were too large for the building. Outside capital was interested and a fine modern theatre, called the "Booker T. Washington" was erected. It has only been opened a few months but is crowded nightly. The manager has over \$5000 invested in equipment. Vaudeville, motion pictures and dramas are presented as the public taste demands. This field is new for colored men and the unexampled success of this young business man has shown what can be accomplished in this or any other field.

No. 16. Is a second-hand furniture store established 2 years ago. Capital, at the beginning was invested in 6 stoves and has been increased to \$800. Rent paid is \$15 per month, 3 men are employed and receipts total \$150 to \$175 weekly. The proprietor sees many chances to increase the volume of business. His patrons are colored although he serves an occasional white customer.

No. 17. Is an ice and coal dealer who began business 14 months ago, with a capital of \$140. His rent is \$5 per month; he has one helper. He has now increased his capital to \$500 and his annual business amounts to over \$1800 per year. Trade is all colored.

No. 18. Is another ice and coal dealer, who was formerly a day laborer. Capital at the beginning amounted to \$15.00, rent was \$6, one helper employed. Basket trade is a specialty with this dealer. His capital at present is \$170, and annual sales \$780. He believes he can increase his business greatly in the future.

No. 19. Is a man who has been engaged in express and hauling for 6 years. He was formerly a laborer and started in business with \$150, rent \$5. He now employs 2 men, has \$500 invested in wagons, stock equipment and does \$8 to \$10 worth of business daily. His trade is both colored and white. He does not see much of an opportunity to increase his business.

No. 20. Also runs a dray line and has been engaged in business for 16 years. He left his former occupation of fireman and started business with \$90. His former rent of \$3 has been increased to \$13. He employs 10 men, has \$3500 invested in stock, wagons, equipment, and does a monthly business of \$400 to \$500. His patrons are both white and colored. He *reports a steady gain each year he has been in business and can see no reason why his business will not continue to grow.*

## APPENDIX B. DETAILED TABLES ON OCCUPATION AND WAGES.

TABLE I

## PROFESSIONAL GROUP.

Occupations.	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Total	Wage	
					Daily	Weekly
Teachers .....	7	29	..	29	\$6.85	\$41.10*
Ministers .....	10	23	1	23	2.32	13.92*
Physicians .....	6	23	2	23	5.21	31.26*
Lawyers .....	2	11	..	11	4.17	25.00*
Dentists .....	1	7	..	7	6.25	37.50*
	26	93	3	93	\$4.96	\$29.76

\*In this and the following table the stars on weekly wage quotations indicate that the information was directly secured. In other cases it is estimated in whole or part.

TABLE II.

## BUSINESS GROUP.

Occupation	General Schedule	Personal In-vestigation	Wage Schedule	Estimate	Total	
Undertaking						
Establishment....	3	7	..	..	7	
Steam Laundry....		2	..	..	2	
*Poro College.....		1	..	..	1	
Drug Stores.....	1	7	..	..	7	
Men's Furnishing						
Goods .....		2	..	..	2	
Dry Goods Store..	1	1	..	..	1	
Second-hand						
Clothing .....		1	..	..	1	
Second-hand						
Furniture .....		2	..	..	2	
Groceries .....	2	10	..	..	10	Annual Income
Tea and Coffee						Six men earning \$3,500
Store .....		1	..	..	1	and upwards.
Jewelry Shop.....		1	..	..	1	
Florist Shop.....	1	1	..	..	1	Five men earning \$2,500
Photograph						to \$3,500.
Galleries .....	1	2	..	..	2	
Newspapers .....		3	..	..	3	Ten men earning \$1,500
Printing Shops....	2	3	..	..	3	to \$2,500.
Tailor Shops.....		3	..	..	3	
Locksmith Shop .....		1	..	..	1	Twenty-five men earn-
Automobile School. .		1	..	..	1	ing \$1,000 to \$1,500.
Hospital .....		1	..	..	1	
Real Estate Dealers .		4	..	..	4	Forty-two men earning
Contractors .....		2	..	..	2	\$900 to \$1,000.
Hotels .....		3	..	..	3	
Restaurants .....	1	20	..	..	20	One hundred and sixty-
Saloons .....	2	25	..	..	25	six men earning \$700
Poolrooms .....	1	8	..	25	33	to \$900.
Theaters and						
Odeons .....		3	..	..	3	Fifty men earning \$500
Barber Shops.....		17	..	30	47	to \$700.
Bakeries .....		1	..	..	1	
Blacksmith Shops. .	3	3	..	..	3	
Upholstering Shop .		1	..	..	1	
Pressing and						
Cleaning Shops.. .		7	..	17	24	
Shoe Shining						
Parlors .....	1	9	..	..	10	
Shoe Repair Shops .		2	..	..	2	
Dray Lines.....		7	2	6	15	
Storage Company.. .		1	..	..	1	
Ice and Coal						
Dealers .....	18	12	..	30	60	
Total.....	37	175	2	108	304	

\*The proprietor is a woman.

TABLE III.  
CLERICAL GROUP.

Occupations.	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Estimate	Total	Wage Daily	Wage Weekly
Postoffice Employees	53	167	1	..	167	\$3.64	\$21.84*
City Officers.....	1	8	..	..	8	3.51	21.06*
City Clerks.....	..	12	..	..	12	...	....
City Inspectors....	..	10	..	..	10	...	....
City Messengers ..	..	5	..	..	5	...	....
Policemen .....	..	9	..	..	9	...	....
Turnkey .....	1	..	..	..	1	...	....
Detective .....	1	..	..	..	1	...	....
Truant Officer.....	1	..	..	..	1	...	....
Clerks in Stores...	8	4	1	2	15	2.00	12.00*
Salesmen .....	2	1	1	1	5	2.50	15.00
Bookkeepers and							
Stenographers ...	2	..	..	3	5	2.50	15.00
Shipping Clerks....	3	3	..	..	6	2.00	12.00
Business Agents...	2	4	..	..	5	2.50	15.00
Foremen .....	..	4	6	..	10	3.00	18.00*
Actors .....	3	..	..	7	10	2.00	12.00
Horse Trainers							
and Prizefighters.	2	..	..	3	5	2.00	12.00
Ballplayers .....	1	..	..	9	10	2.00	12.00
Soldiers .....	3	..	1	6	10	2.00	12.00*
Chemists .....	1	..	..	1	2	2.00	12.00
	84	227	10	32	297	\$3.21	\$19.26

TABLE IV.

## PERSONAL SERVICE GROUP.

Occupations.	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Estimate	Total	Wage Daily	Weekly
<b>Porters—</b>							
Hotels .....	10	5	..	10	25	\$2.00	\$12.00
Banks and Office Buildings .....	7	35	3	35	80	2.50	15.00*
Stores and Factories .....	7	16	5	222	250	1.66	10.00*
Barbershops .....	9	20	..	921	950	1.60	9.60*
Saloons .....	18	15	..	1567	1600	1.66	10.00*
Miscellaneous ...	113	20	1	236	319	1.66	10.00*
<b>Janitors—</b>							
City .....	18	80	2	20	120	2.35	14.10*
Private Families.	74	2	3	371	450	1.50	9.00*
Job Work.....	..	8	3	189	200	2.00	12.00*
Office Buildings, Schools and Churches .....	47	6	..	147	200	2.00	12.00*
Factories and Stores .....	45	..	6	149	200	1.50	9.00*
Housecleaners .....	1	..	..	9	10	1.66	10.00*
<b>Pullman Employees,</b>							
Cooks and Waiters .....	19	350	..	..	350	2.25	13.50*
<b>Pullman and</b>							
R. R. Porters....	136	550	3	..	550	2.25	13.50*
<b>Waiters—</b>							
Cater .....	4	35	..	..	35	3.00	18.00*
Union .....	14	41	..	..	41	2.00	12.00*
Alliance and Others	30	375	21	..	400	2.00	12.00*
Bartenders .....	15	..	..	15	30	2.50	15.00
Barbers .....	37	75	..	..	75	2.50	15.00
Bath Rubbers.....	4	..	..	6	10	2.50	15.00
Cooks .....	22	3	1	144	170	2.00	12.00
Stewards .....	4	..	..	1	5	2.00	12.00
Valets, Linen Men.	3	..	..	2	5	2.00	12.00*
Coachmen .....	10	..	..	15	25	1.50	9.00
Footmen .....	3	4	..	3	10	2.00	12.00*
Butlers .....	2	..	..	3	5	1.50	9.00*
Messengers .....	2	2	..	36	40	1.66	10.00*
Elevator Men.....	16	40	..	277	300	...	11.00*
Night Watchmen...	16	3	1	5	25	2.50	15.00*
Boatmen .....	3	..	..	7	10	2.00	12.00
	689	1685	49	4390	6490	\$1.81	\$10.86

TABLE V.  
ARTISAN GROUP.

Occupations.	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Estimate	Total	Wage	
						Daily	Weekly
Bricklayers .....	12	25	..	..	25	\$5.00	\$30.00 <sup>a</sup>
Tuckpointers .....	1	10	..	..	10	3.00	18.00 <sup>a</sup>
Plasterers .....	3	25	..	..	25	5.00	30.00 <sup>a</sup>
Paperers and Paperhangers ...	12	15	..	..	15	3.50	21.00 <sup>a</sup>
Carpenters .....	13	15	..	..	15	4.00	24.00 <sup>a</sup>
Decorators and Sign Painters.....	..	3	1	..	3	3.00	18.00 <sup>a</sup>
Electricians .....	1	..	..	1	2	3.50	21.00
Blacksmiths .....	4	4	..	..	4	2.50	15.00
Chauffeurs .....	44	202	3	5	210	2.50	15.00 <sup>a</sup>
Auto Machinist....	..	..	1	1	2	3.50	21.00 <sup>a</sup>
Glazier .....	1	..	..	..	1	3.00	18.00
Stone Cutters.....	1	9	..	..	10	2.50	15.00 <sup>a</sup>
Tailors .....	30	12	..	..	50	2.00	12.00 <sup>a</sup>
Printers .....	2	4	..	4	10	2.75	16.50
Miners .....	5	..	..	5	10	2.50	15.00
Millers .....	4	..	10	1	15	1.87	11.25 <sup>a</sup>
Cabinet Makers....	1	1	..	..	2	3.50	21.00
Coopers .....	2	..	..	3	5	2.50	15.00 <sup>a</sup>
Roofers .....	1	..	..	4	5	3.00	18.00
Musicians .....	15	84	..	11	95	2.50	15.00 <sup>a</sup>
	<u>152</u>	<u>409</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>514</u>	<u>\$2.74</u>	<u>\$16.44</u>

TABLE VI.

## FACTORY WORKERS' GROUP.

Occupations.	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Estimate	Total	Wage Daily	Wage Weekly
Iron and							
Steel Workers...	103	1644	4	49	1800	\$2.75	\$16.50*
Coremakers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chippers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Roughers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rammers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chainers .....	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cranemen .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Moulders .....	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
Moulders' Helpers	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Firemen .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cupola Tenders...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carwheel Rollers.	5	..	1	..	..	..	..
Rivet Heaters...	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
Shiners .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tobacco Workers...	21	132	2	27	182	1.50	9.00*
Stemmers .....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Truckers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rackers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Packing House							
Workers .....	18	12	..	45	75	2.25	13.50*
Brick and							
Tile Workers....	23	829	1	48	900	1.80	10.80*
Lead Workers.....	8	185	..	7	200	1.90	11.40*
Car Repairers.....	3	21	..	41	65	2.00	12.00*
Glass Workers.....	10	..	5	10	25	1.75	10.50*
Shoe and							
Leather Workers.	1	5	..	9	15	1.50	9.00*
Gas Makers.....	11	..	..	4	15	2.00	12.00
Salt and							
Putty Workers...	1	3	..	6	10	2.00	12.00
Distillery Workers.	1	2	..	2	5	2.75	16.50*
Spice Mill Workers.	..	6	..	4	10	1.75	10.50*
Metal Workers.....	1	..	..	4	5	1.75	10.50
Dairy and Ice							
Cream Workers..	9	2	..	19	30	2.00	12.00*
Miscellaneous							
Factory Workers.	8	..	..	179	187	1.75	10.50
	256	2841	18	454	3524	\$2.29	\$13.76

TABLE VII.  
COMMON LABOR GROUP.

Occupations.	General	Personal	Wage			Wage	
Teamsters—	Schedule	Investigation	Schedule	Estimate	Total	Daily	Weekly
City Garbage							
Drivers .....	22	400	1	..	400	2.08	12.50*
Wholesale Firms.	38	..	..	112	150	\$2.00	\$12.00*
Expressmen—							
Self Employed..	25	26	1	23	75	2.00	12.00*
Van Movers ...	..	20	..	40	60	2.00	12.00*
Auto Truckers...	2	1	..	7	10	2.00	12.00*
Building Material.	21	24	..	255	300	2.10	12.60*
Coal and							
Ice Drivers....	25	141	..	184	350	2.25	13.50*
Piano Movers....	15	24	1	..	35	2.25	13.50*
Furniture Drivers	..	2	..	..	2	2.75	16.50*
Delivery							
Store Drivers..	40	8	..	27	75	1.75	10.50*
Misc. Drivers ..	43	..	..	207	250	2.00	12.00*
Street Cleaners—							
Paved) ..	9	160	..	..	160	1.50	9.00*
Street Cleaners—							
Soft) .....	..	60	..	..	60	1.75	10.50*
Sewer Cleaners....	..	8	..	..	8	2.50	15.00*
Concrete and							
Asphalt Workers..	13	9	2	176	200	2.00	12.00*
Ash Haulers,							
Wreckers, Junkers	11	2	2	5	20	1.75	10.50*
Hodcarriers .....	41	800	3	..	800	4.00	24.00*
Excavators .....	..	100	1	..	100	2.50	15.00*
Bridge Graders							
and Ditchers....	5	30	18	7	60	2.00	12.00*
Coal and							
Sand Dumpers...	21	..	4	55	80	1.75	10.50*
Car Cleaners. ....	38	125	2	..	125	1.60	9.60*
United Railway							
Work .....	21	110	..	..	125	1.60	9.60*
Stable Hands and							
Hostlers .....	15	3	1	331	250	2.00	12.00*
Hay and Grain							
Truckers .....	1	8	..	41	50	2.00	12.00*
Yardmen .....	2	1	..	7	10	2.00	12.00*
Farmers and							
Gardeners .....	8	..	..	92	100	1.75	10.50
Firemen,							
Boilermen, Etc...	44	23	2	331	400	2.50	15.00*
Loaders, Movers							
and Packers ...	13	..	3	4	20	1.75	10.50*
Laundry Workers..	3	..	..	17	20	2.00	12.00*
Whitewashers .....	1	1	..	23	25	2.00	12.00*
Fruit Sorters.....	3	..	..	7	10	1.75	10.50*
Furniture Polishers.	1	..	..	4	5	2.00	12.00
Brass Auto-Cleaner.	1	..	..	4	5	2.50	15.00*
Egg Candles ....	2	..	..	3	5	1.75	10.50
Bundle Packers....	..	1	..	4	5	1.35	8.10*
Candy and							
Cotton Workers..	4	..	..	1	5	1.75	10.75
Freight Handlers...	22	95	..	..	95	1.80	10.80
Misc. Workers.....	133	11	1	455	600	1.75	10.50*
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>643</b>	<b>2193</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>2422</b>	<b>5050</b>	<b>\$2.31</b>	<b>\$13.5</b>



TABLE VIII.

## BOYS' GROUP.

Occupations.	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Estimate	Total	Wage Daily	Weekly
Glass Workers.....	..	150	..	..	150	\$1.17	\$7.00*
Tobacco Workers..	..	107	..	13	120	1.00	6.00*
Iron and Steel Workers...	..	19	..	56	75	1.17	7.00
Packing House Workers .....	..	3	..	7	10	1.17	7.00*
Brick and Asphalt Workers.	..	19	2	14	35	1.21	7.25*
Construction Co. Workers .....	..	2	..	8	10	1.33	8.00*
Ice and Coal Carriers .....	..	2	1	22	25	.58	3.50*
Errand and Office Boys.....	13	3	8	6	30	.75	4.50*
Clerks and De- livery Boys....	..	17	1	82	100	.83	5.00*
Tailor Boys.....	..	9	..	31	40	.71	4.25*
Newsboys .....	7	4	..	189	200	.50	3.00*
Elevator Boys....	26	35	2	62	125	1.25	7.50*
Shoe Shiners.....	5	5	..	40	50	.83	5.00*
Bus and Bell Boys.	3	4	4	14	25	.83	5.00*
Bowling Alley Boys.	11	9	..	20	40	.66	4.00*
Odd Jobs.....	2	4	7	17	30	.41	2.46*
Stable Boys.....	..	4	2	4	10	.33	2.00*
Blacksmith Boys...	..	1	..	..	1	.50	3.00*
Total.....	67	388	27	585	1076	\$0.89	\$5.34

TABLE IX.

## WOMEN'S GROUP.

Occupations.	General Schedule	Personal Investigation	Wage Schedule	Estimate	Total	Wage Daily	Wage Weekly
Laundress (hand)..	496	8	3	2993	3500	\$0.75	\$ 4.50*
Laundress (steam)..	5	..	..	35	40	1.00	6.00*
Scrubbers and Cleaners .....	68	..	1	831	900	.75	4.50*
Housekeepers .....	14	..	..	86	100	.83	5.00
House Girls.....	42	..	2	506	550	.83	5.00
Chambermaids ....	21	..	1	53	75	1.00	6.00*
Maids (Theatre)...	3	..	..	7	10	1.00	6.00
Boarding House Keepers .....	..	2	..	98	100	1.66	10.00
Lodging House Keepers .....	2	1	..	197	200	1.66	10.00
Pantry Girls.....	1	..	..	9	10	.83	5.00
Cooks & Waiters (Private) .....	64	12	1	1023	1100	1.00	6.00*
Cooks (Restaurant)..	5	..	..	25	30	1.25	7.50
Waitresses (Restaurant) ....	3	7	..	40	50	1.00	6.00*
Sack Patchers.....	2	50	..	..	50	.83	5.00*
Tobacco Workers..	..	40	..	10	50	.83	5.00
Nut Pickers.....	19	280	..	..	280	.83	5.00
Business Women...	..	1	..	..	1	16.63	100.00*
Clerks (Stores)....	..	5	..	8	13	1.00	6.00
Stock Women.....	7	3	..	10	30	1.00	6.00
Stenographers and Bookkeepers ....	10†	..	..	5	15	1.33	8.00
Actresses .....	2	..	..	3	5	2.00	12.00
Nurses and Midwives .....	8	..	..	82	90	2.00	12.00
Hairdressers .....	24	25	..	171	200	2.00	12.00*
Seamstresses .....	50	..	1	99	150	2.25	13.50*
Music Teachers....	4	..	..	6	50	2.50	15.00
School Teachers...	28	158	2	..	158	3.91	23.46*
Juvenile Court Probation Officer.	..	1	..	..	1	3.12	18.75*
	878	593	11	6297	7758	\$0.98	\$ 5.88

†4 colored women in Federal service.

## APPENDIX C.

## ESTIMATED ANNUAL EARNINGS OF ST. LOUIS NEGROES.

Groups	No. in Oc- cupation	Working Days	Average Wage		Total	Group Total
			Daily	Yearly		
<b>Professional—</b>						
Physicians .....	23	300	....	\$1,500.00	\$34,500.00	
Dentists .....	7	300	....	1,800.00	12,600.00	
Teachers .....	29	300	....	1,644.40	47,687.60	
Ministers .....	23	300	....	788.16	18,127.68	
Lawyers .....	11	300	....	1,200.00	13,200.00	
	<u>93</u>					\$ 126,115.28
<b>Business—</b>						
	6	300	....	\$3,500.00	\$21,000.00	
	5	300	....	2,500.00	12,500.00	
	10	300	....	1,500.00	15,000.00	
	25	300	....	1,000.00	25,000.00	
	42	300	....	900.00	37,800.00	
	166	300	....	700.00	116,200.00	
	50	300	....	500.00	25,000.00	
	<u>304</u>					252,500.00
<b>Clerical—</b>						
<b>Post Office</b>						
Employes .....	167	300	\$3.64	\$1,092.00	\$182,364.00	
City Officers, etc..	47	300	3.51	1,053.00	49,491.00	
Store Clerks.....	26	300	2.03	609.00	15,834.00	
Stenographers and						
Bookkeepers ...	20	300	2.00	600.00	12,000.00	
All others.....	37	300	2.59	777.00	28,749.00	
	<u>297</u>					288,438.0
<b>Artisan—</b>						
Building Laborers	93	200	\$4.34	\$ 868.00	\$ 80,724.00	
Mechanics .....	218	275	2.53	695.75	151,673.50	
Musicians .....	95	100	2.50	250.00	23,750.00	
All others.....	108	250	2.03	507.50	54,810.00	
	<u>514</u>					310,957.5

## APPENDIX C

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Groups	No. in Oc- cupation	Working Days	Average Wage		Total	Group Total
			Daily	Yearly		
<b>Personal Service—</b>						
Porters .....	3224	300	\$1.66	\$ 498.00	\$1,605,552.00	
Janitors .....	1180	300	1.71	513.00	605,340.00	
Pullman Railway.	900	300	2.25	675.00	607,500.00	
Walters and						
Cooks .....	646	275	2.06	566.50	365,959.00	
Personal Service.	50	300	1.67	501.00	25,050.00	
Barbers, etc.....	115	300	2.50	750.00	86,250.00	
All others.....	375	275	1.85	508.75	190,781.25	
	6490					3,486,432.2
<b>Factory Workers—</b>						
Iron and Steel....	1800	300	\$2.75	\$ 825.00	\$1,485,000.00	
Brick and Tile...	900	250	1.80	450.00	405,000.00	
Lead Workers....	200	200	1.90	380.00	76,000.00	
Tobacco Workers	182	300	1.50	450.00	81,900.00	
Packing House...	75	250	2.25	562.50	42,187.50	
Car Repairers....	65	300	2.00	600.00	39,000.00	
All others.....	302	275	1.80	495.00	149,490.00	
	3524					2,278,577.5
<b>Common Labor—</b>						
Teamsters .....	1307	275	\$2.10	\$ 577.50	\$ 754,792.50	
City Labor.....	628	275	1.90	522.50	328,130.00	
Hodcarriers .....	800	175	4.00	700.00	560,000.00	
Car Companies						
and United R'y.	250	300	1.60	480.00	120,000.00	
Freight Handlers.	95	275	1.80	495.00	47,025.00	
Hay, Stable Hands	310	275	2.00	550.00	170,500.00	
Misc'l Workers .	600	250	1.75	437.50	262,500.00	
Building Material						
Laborers .....	460	250	2.00	500.00	230,000.00	
Boilermen .....	400	300	2.50	750.00	300,000.00	
All others.....	200	275	2.27	624.25	124,850.00	
	5050					2,897,797.5
<b>Boys'—</b>						
Glass Workers...	355	300	\$1.10	\$ 330.00	\$ 117,150.00	
Common Labor...	70	250	1.00	250.00	17,500.00	
Personal Service.	200	300	1.09	327.00	65,400.00	
Newsboys .....	200	300	.50	150.00	30,000.00	
Clerks, etc.....	170	250	.79	197.50	33,575.00	
All others.....	81	250	.52	130.00	10,530.00	
	1076					274,155.0
<b>Women's—</b>						
Laundresses .....	4440	270	\$0.75	\$ 202.50	\$ 899,100.00	
Personal Service.	2225	300	1.03	309.00	687,525.00	
Factory .....	380	250	.83	207.50	78,850.00	
Trade .....	59	275	1.07	294.25	17,360.75	
Professional .....	654	300	2.56	768.00	502,272.00	
	7758					2,185,107.7
<b>Grand Total.....</b>						<b>\$12,100,080.7</b>



~~University of Missouri, St. Louis~~  
= Studies in social economics.

# The Immigrant in St. Louis

*A Survey*

BY  
RUTH CRAWFORD  
✍

ST. LOUIS  
1916

24

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**HANFORD CRAWFORD**

**30-1985**



## **PREFACE.**

The completion, by a single individual, of a survey such as *The Immigrant in St. Louis*, must perforce limit the scope of the work and stamp it with a certain bias. As Mr. Fairchild points out, the subject-matter of Immigration is highly dynamic; even a limited consideration of the subject displays constantly changing aspects, such that a student is prevented by "his human limitations" from keeping his information up to date. The chief desire of the author therefore has been to gather in one volume, the statistical and descriptive information concerning the immigrant in St. Louis, such as has been collected for other cities by the various Federal and State reports.

It is to be hoped that the evidence thus amassed, will arouse the reader to a realization of his civic responsibility towards these immigrant strangers, and spread the conviction that a local as well as a national policy of constructive assimilation is imperative. In this way alone, can the seeds of political and social worth dormant in each newcomer be developed for the ultimate good of a city like St. Louis, or for the country at large.

Untold thanks are due the heads of many industrial establishments, municipal agencies and philanthropic organizations, who have gladly taken time to compile the vast amount of original data required by the nature of this report. In addition, the author wishes to express especial appreciation of the manuscript revisions done by Mrs. Harry C. January, Dr. C. E. Persons, Dr. George B. Mangold, and Mr. Hanford Crawford. The author's indebtedness covers not only helpful criticism, but continuous encouragement, without which, a beginner would soon lose heart.

RUTH CRAWFORD.

St. Louis, Mo.  
September, 1915.

# THE IMMIGRANT IN ST. LOUIS

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# THE IMMIGRANT IN ST. LOUIS

## CHAPTER I.

### HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION TO ST. LOUIS.

#### I. EARLIEST PERIOD TO GERMAN IMMIGRATION, 1834.

The City of St. Louis has never before been selected as a unit for study in any of the more specialized considerations of the Immigration problem and its influence on the growth of American cities. Until the Pageant of 1914, in its picturesque delineation of old St. Louis, brought vividly to mind the wonderful French and Spanish heritage of the "fourth city", the romance and color of those earlier days remained largely fanciful or forgotten. In reality, this past is linked closely with the modern industrial life of St. Louis, which unconsciously reflects a pageant of human proportions unequalled in the history of the city. Steadily, since the days of the French and Spanish settlers, the number of men and women leaving the older nations across the sea, and coming to this part of the country has increased. The immigrant of today is bringing to St. Louis, customs and ideals of far stranger races than did the Teuton and Celt of half a generation ago. He comes with hopes and plans for the future, which he cherishes and works for so quietly, that little importance has been attached to his presence. His connection with the earlier pioneer spirit is rarely recognized. Is this a wise civic attitude? Will this old world contribution to the life of the city be recalled in later years by imagery alone? Or will its influence permeate the very heart of our civic life? A backward glance over the early history of St. Louis is the first requisite in answering such questions.

#### **The Spaniard:**

The Spaniards were the first to penetrate the wilderness which has since become the State of Missouri. They fought their way up from Mexico, as early as 1541, lured on by tales of fabulous gold treasures to be found in the country to the North. Disappointed in their search, the few survivors of three separate expeditions drifted back to the Gulf, whence they had started, and about a century elapsed before the white man again appeared. This time the intruders came from the north, paddling silently, but with a determination born of spiritual vigor and patriotic zeal. The advent of Joliet and Father Marquette heralded the real beginnings of a settlement in this territory which LaSalle claimed for the French king in 1682. Soon the French traders, followed by French farmers from Canada, located along the Mississippi on the Illinois side, but it was not until 1735 that a settlement was formed on the west bank of the river at Ste.

Genevieve. It was Laclede who finally marked the site for the City of St. Louis, and his famous remark to Governor De Noyon at Fort de Chartres is well known:

"I have found a situation where I intend establishing a settlement, which, in the future, shall become one of the most beautiful cities in America."<sup>1</sup>

#### **The French:**

The atmosphere of this frontier settlement was decidedly French. Even the presence of a Spanish governor and troops after 1762,<sup>2</sup> when France was forced to cede her territory West of the Mississippi to Spain, did not lessen, seriously, the Gallic characteristics of the town.

"Though essentially French, they lacked the frivolity of the Frenchmen of Louis XV or XVI, and still less exhibited the restlessness and violence that characterized their European kinsmen, who experienced the racking storm of the French Revolution. Though gay and fond of amusements, there was in their deportment, something of the gravity of the Spaniards who were their governors."<sup>3</sup>

Today, the streets in the city pay silent tribute to these first settlers who brought the vivacity, the charm, and the versatility of the French and Spanish nations into our civic life. Stop and consider the significance of names, such as Chouteau Avenue, Gratiot Street, St. Ange Street, or De Soto Avenue.

#### **American Settlers:**

After the purchase of the Louisiana territory by the United States in 1803, the influx of American settlers from across the river threatened to obscure this French spirit. Enterprising merchants and artisans began business operations in the town itself. The fur trade, which, up to this time, had been the chief source of commercial prosperity, became but one of the many business activities. An old letter, written in 1818, and still preserved, declares:

"The town of St. Louis at that time contained about two thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were French and one-third Americans. The prevailing language of the white persons on the streets was French; the Negroes of the town all spoke French. All the inhabitants used French to the Negroes, their horses, and their dogs, and used the same tongue in driving their ox teams."<sup>4</sup>

Spencer further describes the atmosphere of the growing town:

"A wonderful pageant of human life it was that sought the capitol of upper Louisiana and moved through the narrow streets of old St. Louis, during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. Nowhere could any one have met more varied aspects of human life, or sharper contrasts of individual and national character. In appearance it must have been a very carnival of nations. Frenchmen and Spaniards were there from every province of France and Spain; French and Spanish

1. Spencer, T. E. "The Story of Old St. Louis," p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

creoles from Canada, New Orleans, Mexico, Cuba and Pensacola; Negroes of different dusky hues, some lately snatched from the kraals of the Guinea and Congo coasts, some from long associations with whites, chattering the French or the Spanish 'patois,' or dialect of the American masters. Indian delegations from all the scattered tribes. Along the 'Rue Royal' came the French 'coureurs,' wild as Pawnees, and the voyageurs, light-hearted, but patient beasts of burden of the fur trade; Saxon hunters and trappers from the Appalachian slopes, bound westward; and American flat-boatmen, red-necked, unkempt, singing and dancing on the wharves, swaggering and rioting in the streets. Touching elbows with all these, came Puritan and Quaker and Virginia cavalier, the high-bred gentleman and lady of Europe, the cultivated army officer, and the pliant and pushing politician—a phantasmagoria of human life, where civilization and barbarism confronted each other upon the Western border."<sup>5</sup>

### Formation of Missouri State:

The growth of the community brought with it a very natural desire for individual state government, and the memorial to Congress sent with the famous Tallmadge amendment, precipitated excitement of a nature so intense, that all other interests paled before the political debates which finally resulted in the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Strangely enough, Missouri gained its right to self-government just before the influx of a race destined to change the character of the city's population entirely. The debonair French spirit was soon to be completely submerged by a tremendous tide of Teutonic immigration.

## II. IRISH, GERMAN AND BOHEMIAN IMMIGRATION, 1834-1882.

### The Irish:

Industrial activity swept across the entire country in the early nineteenth century, together with a wave of speculative fever. The Erie Canal was finished in 1825. Manufacturing increased. Invention followed invention, giving the country two of the greatest known factors of progress—the steamboat and the railroad. There was a vast movement of the population westward, especially along the Ohio River to the Mississippi. Added to the number of settlers who journeyed by this route, were the groups who sailed by way of the Atlantic, up the Mississippi River from New Orleans. St. Louis became a great distributing center. All this expansion naturally created a demand for men, self-directing units of labor. The opportunities were great and the first to respond were the Irish, eager to leave behind them a struggle for mere existence, which the generally low economic conditions of Ireland forced upon them. By 1827, there were so many Irish in St. Louis and passing through, that the "Missouri Hibernian Relief Society", was organized by Irish residents, who "outnumbered all Europeans except French".<sup>6</sup> At this date there were less than a dozen German families in the City.<sup>7</sup>

5. Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

6. Shepard E. "History of St. Louis," p. 87.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

**The Germans:**

The political upheavals which were breaking out in Europe, especially in Germany, precipitated a tremendous immigration from Germany to the United States. There were two periods of this Teutonic immigration. The first brought men of culture and position who had been strongly influenced by the revolutionary movements of the day and desired a freedom of thought and action denied them by the close gathering web of Prussian dominance.

St. Louis, by this time a center from which government land grants in the territory West of the Mississippi, were being distributed, attracted the very first Germans, which fact served to divert an unusually large proportion of the subsequent immigration to St. Louis itself, as well as to the surrounding Missouri territory. "The glowing description in letters, pamphlets, and books written by him (Gottfried Duden), did not fail to make a deep impression in Germany, where he was well known, and where his statements were received with fullest confidence. Men, women and children who had never thought of leaving their fatherland, resolved to emigrate, and Duden's account became the direct cause of the formation of what is now known as the Giessner Emigration Society, organized in 1833 in Giessen, Grandduchy of Hessen".<sup>8</sup> At first these men took up an agricultural life in Missouri country, thinking to form independent German Colonies. Totally unfitted for such work, they were, in most cases, unsuccessful. Consequently they drifted to St. Louis, which from its urban nature, provided better opportunity for their professional training.

After 1848, those directly affected by the failure of the Revolution in Germany arrived. Mechanics, journeymen, peasants, laborers of all sorts, came in large numbers. These Germans settled in southern sections of St. Louis, and soon made their presence felt in the spirit of the city. German became the prevailing language of the "South Side". But more important than this temporary linguistic difference, was their contribution to industrial progress. "The proverbial industry and frugality of the German mechanic and laborer, were the basis of their success in a foreign country. These qualities made them well liked."<sup>9</sup>

The original start in the wholesale grocery business, the flour and milling, the grain, produce and commission branches were made by these German settlers. Adolphus Meier, of the first period, not only established a hardware store, but opened a cotton mill, with a cotton press, making the first move to center the cotton trade of the South in St. Louis. He also operated the Bessemer steel process, thereby greatly facilitating the promotion of one of the greatest achievements of the century—the transcontinental railroad.

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8. Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

**Discovery of Gold:**

A marked impetus was given to all industry throughout the United States by the discovery of gold in California in 1848-9. "Westward Ho!" was the cry. Imagination afire, a constant stream of men, women and children passed through St. Louis on their way to seek their fortunes in the Eldorado of the West. St. Louis became an outfitting center for the overland journey.

Local enthusiasm concentrated on the completion of the Union-Pacific Railroad. This project had been discussed as early as 1835, but the Missouri connection was still to be made. A survey for what is now the Missouri-Pacific Railroad, was begun in May, 1850, and the first passenger train ran in December, 1852. Such territorial and industrial expansion caused demands for labor to soar and provided an outlet for the increased immigration of the period.

Chinese, imported in large numbers, worked on the railroad as far east as Omaha. The roads running West to the Mississippi Valley were laid chiefly by Irish labor, and it is more than likely that they continued the work through Missouri. Fairchild, in his book on Immigration, says: "The hard manual labor on the construction enterprises of the period was mainly performed by Irish laborers."<sup>10</sup> Between 1852 and 1870, twenty-one railroads were built terminating in St. Louis. Such tremendous growth in the facility of transportation had its immediate effect on all branches of commerce. "Pictorial St. Louis," a review published in 1876, declared: "Every new point which a railroad touches finds use for steam boilers and for sheet iron. Work and orders flow into St. Louis."<sup>11</sup> Foundries, rolling mills and machine shops opened. The German element in the city had large brewery interests well under way, which were beginning to take on proportions of national magnitude. Enterprising men, foreseeing that St. Louis was to focus the trade of the whole Southwest, started shoe factories and took from the East skilled workmen to start operations in the Middle West. The Germans and Irish were working their way rapidly into the ranks of entrepreneurs. It was necessary to look elsewhere for the labor which such industries demanded.

**The Bohemians:**

Political unrest in Europe reaching a climax in Bohemia, exiled large numbers to the United States after 1849. The first Bohemian settlement, according to Emily Balch, was in St. Louis.<sup>12</sup> The Bohemians were nearly all skilled workmen, tailors, carpenters, cigar makers, and the like and they quickly found their places in the industrial life of the city. Hyde's History of St. Louis tells of the organization of a Bohemian Benevolent Society in 1854, in a building located at 9th and Sou-

10. Fairchild, H. P. "Immigration," p. 63.

11. Dry, C. N. "Pictorial St. Louis," p. 118.

12. Balch, Emily, "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens," p. 210.



lard Streets. Even today, that district is known as "Bohemian Hill." During the Civil War the society was broken up, but in 1871 it started again, and in 1915 there is still in connection with the society, a school with an enrollment of over two hundred children. As far back as 1875, a weekly paper, the *Hlas* was published by the Bohemian Catholics, who worshipped in the Bohemian Church, St. John Nepomucene, located at Soulard and 11th Streets. It is still the official organ of the Bohemian Catholics.

Strictly speaking, the Bohemians are of the old immigration. A people of great intelligence, they came in order to secure political and religious freedom. Many were followers of the great John Huss, and as one of the foremost men of the community said, "The Bohemians came here originally to work and to think in freedom and they have continued to do both to the present day."

### III. IMMIGRATION SINCE 1882.

The year 1882 is recognized as the date which marks the great turn in the tide of immigration. "It witnessed the climax of the movement from the Scandinavian countries, from England and from Germany; it coincides almost exactly with the appearance of the streams of immigration from Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia, of sufficient volume to attract attention."<sup>13</sup> By this date steamship lines had opened up the Mediterranean countries. Railroads penetrated the interior states of Europe. Word of the new country to the West spread from village to village. The stories of returned travelers, related in their native hamlet, fostered intense desire for similar opportunity. Thus the exodus from South Europe began and has continued until 1914. Within a few months of the present writing, the outbreak of the great European war checked an influx, which, for a number of years, brought over a million strangers into this country annually.

#### **Foreign-born Population:**

What did this change in the source of immigration mean in the life history of St. Louis? Outside of census reports, almost no information exists, which throws statistical light upon the number of nationalities represented in the fast increasing population of the city. The census of 1880, states that 29.6 per cent of the total population was foreign born. It may safely be assumed that the large majority were Germans and Irish, with one distinct group of Bohemians, although "Pictorial St. Louis," claims that in 1875 there was a large settlement of Italians, who worshipped at the St. Bonaventina Chapel. Evidently, some touch with Southern Europe was made early. The following table gives the foreign-born population in St. Louis by census years 1870-1910, and compares it with similar statistics of Philadelphia.

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13. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

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It is evident from the 1890 figures, that between 1875 and 1890, a large number of Austrians, Italians and Russians came to St. Louis. The rapid expansion of the boot and shoe industry, of the breweries, and the establishment of the great American Car and Foundry Machine Shops must be kept well in mind. Also the fact that East St. Louis and Granite City were beginning operations on a scale that threw open many positions for unskilled labor, and lured the immigrant to the Mississippi Valley. The figures for 1900 are significant. For the first time, the Greek appears, the Roumanian and the Turk. The Poles and the Russians have assumed considerable proportions and a complicated problem of assimilation has worked its way unconsciously into the life of the city. Local publications of the time seemed ignorant of the fact. The statistics for 1910 emphasize the already existing problem, and point with significant portent to fifteen thousand Russians, and seven thousand Italians.

St. Louis takes no local census between Federal reports, nor does it indulge even in the simple police census, a method which Cleveland has used successfully in determining its annual increase in population. The only information available on which to base an estimate of the foreign population in 1915 is highly speculative. For instance, at the time of the Balkan War, in 1912, the registry of the Greek Consul numbered the Greeks in the city at 5,000. As many as 2,000 are said to have gone back to Greece, but there is no way of ascertaining the number in St. Louis today. Of course, the European war has caused an abrupt falling off in immigration from countries affected—Russia, Austria, Italy and Turkey—since July, 1914. St. Louis feels such a cessation. For these reasons it has been impossible to bring the statistical information concerning the foreign born population of the city up to date. Throughout this report, figures for 1910 will have to be used for comparative purposes, although it is felt by the best authorities on the subject in the city that these figures are totally inadequate.

#### **Estimate of City's Foreign-born Population:**

The Immigrant Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association personally met and assisted in locating two thousand and ninety-six immigrants who came to the city in the year ending December 1, 1914. He states that approximately thirty-five hundred immigrants have come into the city through Union Station annually for the last five years, and estimates the present foreign-born population at 143,723, an increase of 17,500 since 1910.

The exact number of foreign-born in St. Louis, while of interest, is not of great importance. The vital issue lies in the influence which these groups of foreigners exert on the civic and social life of the city. What does the recent immigrant from Southern and Slavic races mean to the life of St. Louis, a city rich in traditions of French and Spanish life? Do these recent new-comers take their share of responsibility, as did the Germans and the Irish, who, hand in hand with the settlers from New England or Virginia, toiled year after year for a commercial

and industrial foothold in this great Middle West? How does the city itself greet these strangers? What return does St. Louis give to the willing peasant, whose practical ideals of liberty and Christian customs are to emerge from daily participation in the intensity of industrial life?

The following pages seek to lay before the reader concrete facts pertaining to the history of immigration to St. Louis, which will encourage a thoughtful consideration of these perplexing questions and stimulate an earnest desire for a civic program of Americanization.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE IMMIGRANT'S ARRIVAL IN ST. LOUIS.

An immigrant today whose ultimate destination is St. Louis, usually lands at one of the port cities, New York, Boston, Baltimore or Galveston, where he must pass the strict examination required by the United States Government of all aliens desirous of becoming American residents. Once accepted, the immigrant is transferred to the railroad station and put aboard a tourist train, with a ticket labelled, "for St. Louis." The comfort which a business man knows will be his, on the day's journey between the East and St. Louis, is not included in the price of the immigrant's third-class ticket. During the rush season, most of the railroads make up special trains from cars which are no longer in use for regular service. The immigrants are packed in, bag and baggage; often there is not enough room for a woman to lay her baby down, and the journey takes a full forty-eight hours. The changes are many. The train is continually sidetracked, and the immigrants, already worn out by weeks of ocean travel, worry incessantly lest they miss connections. They are unable to ask any one for information, and the strange sights, and the ceaseless rush and roar of the trains, confuse and terrify them.

#### Arrival:

Meanwhile, a telegram brings the good news to expectant relatives or friends in St. Louis. So great is the excitement, that many times those who cannot read English rush frantically for the station at once, fearful lest they arrive too late. It is a very dejected group that goes home, after a day of futile waiting. Neighbors, who can read English, are diligently sought, and the combined efforts of the community finally succeed in having all the friends at the station, dressed in their best. At the proper time, "the train rolls in, bearing wives with babies whom the eager fathers have never seen; aged parents, whose children have

sent for them, to make the last few years of their lives brighter; brothers and sisters, looking for the older brothers and sisters, who have sent them passage money; friends, looking for the renewal of ties which were formed when they were little children together."

### **Exploitation:**

The sight of such happy reunions is touching, but far more potent in its significance of the crisis in a human life is the arrival of the stranger whose friends have failed to meet him, or who comes alone and friendless to this big city. The responsibility of railroad or station officials once over, the man or woman is thrown into the complexities of American urban life with a rapidity that is almost certain to be demoralizing. The very gates through which the immigrant passes when coming from the train are attractive places for operations of questionable character. Here, the person who is out for that kind of business, may easily find a "load," as it is called, that will keep him for a few days, until he succeeds in locating another victim. Market Street is lined with sharpers' stalls, and the man in search of lodgings, or the girl looking for work, invariably runs the gauntlet of these pitfalls. Tragic is the fact that many of these exploiters are foreigners, who have themselves been "done," and, therefore, consider the "greener," a lawful prey. The newcomers are naturally glad to hear their own language spoken, and utterly unsuspecting of any ulterior motive in the friend's offer of a meal, employment or lodging. Twenty-four hours later, when the man's money is gone, or the girl finds herself in unbearable surroundings, there is a bitter awakening to some customs of free America.

### **Protection:**

Similar conditions have existed in every city where the proportion of foreign-born is large, but public sentiment has been aroused, and determined efforts have been made to protect the immigrant as a part of the traveling American public which is especially subject to abuse. Such national organizations as the Traveler's Aid Society, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, have workers in the various depots, whose definite object is protection of such travelers. Cleveland has a Municipal Immigration Bureau, Chicago an Immigrant Protective League, and New York the Immigrant's Guide and Transfer Company.

### **Establishment of Immigration Bureau:**

Nothing was done for the protection of the immigrant passing through, or arriving in St. Louis until 1913, when the Young Men's Christian Association obtained a "foreign" secretary. Even the cold figures of the first year's work in meeting all immigrant trains tell a tale of need that becomes heart-gripping when details are added. Social agencies throughout the city *watched the work* with interest, and on February 9, 1915, a Mu-

nicipal Ordinance was passed, authorizing the establishment of a City Immigration Bureau in Union Station, using for this purpose, part of the money bequeathed by Bryan Mullanphy, a former mayor of the city, in his unique charity known as "The Mullanphy Fund," a fund for the relief of all poor immigrants and travelers, coming to St. Louis on their way "bona fide," to settle in the West.

True, the European war has decreased the number of fresh arrivals, but the ordinary movement among the foreign-born already in the States, is sufficient to create continuous streams of travel, and to warrant the firm conviction that a stranger, especially the immigrant stranger, coming to St. Louis, should pass through the gates into the city under guidance that pledges at once good faith and a fair chance to the future citizen.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### THE HOUSING OF THE IMMIGRANT IN ST. LOUIS.

An observer, standing at the head of the stone steps leading out of Union Station to 18th Street may, almost any morning, find a picturesque group of immigrants awaiting the car. As they are carried away, amidst the roar of traffic, the realization is forced upon one, that these strangers are future citizens of St. Louis. Curiosity enlivens abstract musing, and queries flash through the mind; to what part of the city are these people going? In what sort of houses will they live? For answer one remembers "accounts of dark and absolutely unventilated bedrooms, houses unprovided with any water supply, filthy outdoor closets and privy vaults, toilets used by ten or twelve families conjointly, buildings covering the entire lot, dooryards flooded with stagnant water and refuse, basements half filled with water, domestic animals sharing accommodations with the family and a host of other horrors."<sup>1</sup> A ready inference has always been that the immigrant lives in the slums because he likes to; in other words, that he creates his own slum wherever he goes. Is this true in St. Louis? Is the immigrant forced into miserable quarters by his inability to pay higher rents, or, on the contrary, do his standards cause dilapidation and filth?

#### **Report of Immigration Commission:**

The Immigration Commission, in its report on the Immigrant in Cities, omitted St. Louis in its investigation, but included Philadelphia, Boston and Cleveland, cities that may be compared to St. Louis in size. As was said before, St. Louis has never been considered a city in which the presence of the foreign-born con-

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1. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

stituted an acute problem. Nevertheless, the conditions that surround the immigrant living in the congested part of the city, give rise to exactly the same difficulties which the port cities have, and as a result, the findings of the Immigration Commission are of great value. Philadelphia, especially, may be used in comparison with St. Louis because of its geographical situation. Somewhat Southern, by nature conservative, both cities have paid but little heed to the component parts of their population. Like Topsy, they "jes' grew." Cases of high degrees of congestion are relatively more frequent in Philadelphia than in the other large cities. The study of a section of the Jewish and Italian districts in St. Louis, made in 1908 by the Civic League, shows that St. Louis has almost identical conditions. The following table gives the average number of persons per room and per sleeping room in foreign sections of the different cities:

TABLE III.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM AND PER SLEEPING ROOM IN SELECTED CITIES.\*

City.	Number Persons per Room.†	Number Per Sleeping Room.
Boston.....	1.44	1.78
Buffalo.....	1.33	1.91
Chicago.....	1.26	1.98
Cleveland.....	1.40	2.03
Milwaukee.....	1.14	1.78
New York.....	1.39	2.19
Philadelphia.....	1.41	2.19
†St. Louis.....	1.40	2.74

\* Rep. of the U. S. Immigration Com., Vol. 27, p. 51.

† Housing Conditions in St. Louis, p. 80.

(Note that in the preparation of this table no selection of foreign families as such was made. While the investigation was made in streets where the vast majority of tenants were foreign born, still every family was studied in order that the picture might be thoroughly representative. Later, tables will be given based entirely on immigrant cases.)

#### St. Louis Statistics:

Chicago authorities consider 2.50 per sleeping room as frightful over-crowding. What is to be said of the St. Louis record of 2.74? This figure was based on the study of 3,855 apartments, housing all told, 13,223 persons in the Italian and Jewish districts, and though made some years ago, the facts still stand, judging from smaller investigations made as late as 1914 and 1915.

The St. Louis report shows that there has been a steady movement of individuals through the poorest districts, and that houses once the homes of native St. Louisans have been occupied successively by the Germans, Irish, Jews, and Italians. An investigation made in 1914, which covered a part of the territory studied in 1908 establishes the fact that the Greeks and Turks are fast wedging their way into these same premises vacated

by the removal of families to a better part of town. This evidence is quite contrary to current criticism, which credits the immigrant with a positive fondness for congestion. It bears out the testimony of men and women who have studied such problems with sympathy, and find the immigrant inordinately desirous of better surroundings.

Fairchild aptly calls the slum "the sifting ground of the foreign-born." The uncouth stranger in all of our big cities is forced by the meagerness of his daily wage to seek the lowest rents, in themselves a good index of housing conditions and surroundings which suck the weak and unfortunate into the whirlpool of slum degradation. The strong endure their surroundings with but one idea—that of escape; and the rapid movement of races in many of our cities through the districts that may be termed slums, should be more than a sufficient answer to the man who insists that the immigrant creates his own slum.

#### **Housing Code:**

The Housing Investigation of 1908 resulted in the enactment of a Housing Code for the city, which should greatly improve conditions in the future. The building of outside privies was prohibited, and by degrees the Board of Health is ordering the removal of many thousands which still exist. Running water must be placed on every floor; lights must be kept burning in dark halls; only sixty-five per cent of a street lot and ninety per cent of a corner lot may be covered by buildings; a janitor must be provided in tenements housing eight or more families; and the leasing of cellars, (rooms more than one-half below ground) for living purposes, is illegal.

Generally speaking, the actual number of congested districts in St. Louis is limited, but the filth and dilapidation of these few localities is not, in the opinion of housing experts, surpassed by any other large city in this country.

#### **Italians:**

The Italian immigrant upon his arrival in St. Louis, is certain to go to one of two localities—either to "Dago Hill" on the Western outskirts of the city, or to the most densely populated portion of the city, bounded by Cass Avenue on the north, Franklin Avenue on the south; running from Broadway to Tenth Street. The latter is known to the Provident Association, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the Jewish Alliance, as the "poverty district of St. Louis," and to the casual observer as "Little Italy." It is through this section of the city that successive racial groups have moved in and out of houses that once bordered a fashionable district. Originally a German community, the Irish were next to enter, then the Jews. Today, the Jews have been pushed into Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets and further west, by the Italians, whose center of population has already shifted from Broadway to about Seventh Street, in a westward trend.

Property holders predict an industrial future for this locality. Probably this accounts somewhat for the indifference on the part



of the owners as to the upkeep of tenement property. Most of the tenements are two and three story brick buildings backing on a "yard," which is entered by a long, narrow passageway. In between many of these buildings are wedged rickety old wooden houses, which often list sadly, have sunken roofs, and paper-stuffed windows. Many are occupied by Negroes, who seem to have clung tenaciously to their miserable quarters throughout the changing tide of neighbors. Their presence stamps the adjacent property as undesirable, and the landlord becomes neglectful.

Peculiar to this quarter, and most important in its intensification of congestion, is the rear tenement: "The alley house has all of the unsanitary features of the house that faces the street, plus some of its own. Its construction is that of the poorest. Often the original house has been moved to the rear of the lot, and a new house with a store built in the front. When the house was originally built on the alley, the construction was flimsy, because the rent must be low. The usual height of the house is one or two stories, two rooms deep. The room facing the yard is the kitchen, that facing the alley is the bedroom. Just under the window of the bedroom is the collection of garbage buckets, boxes, pans and baskets of all the tenants of the front and rear buildings. Immediately across the alley is another collection. In the summer, the stench in these rooms is unbearable."<sup>2</sup> In the Italian district the alley house is found at its worst, and the alleyway plays an important part in the life of each member of its family. "The household work is carried on, the children play, and the babies are asleep on the stones. In the windows there are often boxes or splint baskets or buckets or tin cans, holding carefully tended plants. When late afternoon comes, the tables are carried out and the alley is lined with family parties, resting, drinking, gossiping and playing cards and dice. The peddlers with their pushcarts of hoky-poky candy and queer Italian cakes, make their way between. That the garbage boxes are full seems to make little difference."<sup>3</sup>

The home life is secluded and, as a visiting nurse once remarked, "You do not find the Italian mother gossiping on the back porch with her neighbor as you do the Jewish mother." Many of the Italian women are forced to work, for the families are large, but the tendency is for them to choose work such as the finishing of ready-made clothes, which enables them to remain at home.

"The Italians do not, as a rule, take boarders. The single men in the district combine for co-operative housekeeping, instead of lodging, as so many other newly arrived laborers do, with some family. Often, four to nine men live in a room, cook and sleep in it—sometimes a day and night shift occupying the bunks alternately. It must be said that the rooms are generally as clean as can be expected under such conditions."<sup>4</sup> Mark Twain once asked why an Italian woman is forever seen wash-

2. Rumbold, C., ed., "Housing Conditions in St. Louis," p. 31.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

ing, yet forever dirty. This question might well be asked by a yard visitor, because the Italian women with their bright colored handkerchiefs are always found busily scrubbing or cleaning up the rickety premises. Their homes are bare, and the atmosphere created by the simple fare of onions, bread and macaroni, often discourages the American investigator, but one who understands, knows that numberless children, the plenitude of St. Louis soot, and the demands of industrial life, exact much of, and give little encouragement to, the Italian housekeeper in this part of town.

**"Dago Hill:"**

An important industry in the city is the manufacture of clay products. The soil of the hilly district west of Kingshighway is especially rich in clay deposits, and many brick and tile factories have sprung up in the valley of the Des Pères River, along the Missouri Pacific and Frisco Railroad tracks. The Italians have for years furnished the labor in these terra cotta works and gradually a settlement has grown up on a nearby height of land, called "Dago Hill." In round numbers, there are about five thousand Italians, half from the country villages near Milan, North Italy, and half from the east coast of Sicily. The housing is of three types: single frame shanties of three rooms, with a basement kitchen; two-story frame tenements holding four families; and single brick houses of one story and four rooms.

The shanties are weather beaten and worn. Fenced in carefully, each little home endeavors, without success, to keep its family of small children, chickens and dogs, within bounds. Basement kitchens are popular and regrettable. They are damp, even though the location of the cottage on the hillside causes the water to run off quickly. Until the fall of 1914, there were no sewers in the entire district, and the alleys streamed with refuse. Improvements are now being made, but there is need for much city work, such as the grading of streets and the putting in of sidewalks, and a street lighting system.

The tenements are rickety in the extreme, and owned for the most part by down-town realty companies. Some of them are lodging houses for the single men. "In 'Dago Hill' 175 Italians were found living in thirty-four rooms. In many houses, two shifts of men occupy one room, the men who worked during the day, using the bed at night, and vice versa. In many houses sleeping rooms were also used as living rooms, kitchens and dining rooms and when occasion demanded, as bath room. The result of this system is indescribable filth."<sup>5</sup> The number of single men in this community was greatly reduced during the winter of 1914-15, because of the industrial depression; consequently, many of these larger tenements have stood vacant.

The brick houses are an index of immigrant progress because, in a majority of cases, they are owned by the Italians themselves. This tendency of the Italian in "Dago Hill" to invest his savings in property promises well for the future of the

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5. Mangold, G. B., ed., "Unregulated Cheap Lodging Houses."

colony. These immigrants have come to stay. Their children are in the big public school, farther up the hill, and their hearts are in these tiny homes. Their upkeep becomes a matter of pride, also the equipment; and bathrooms and inside toilets are being put in as fast as connections with the city sewer can be made. Though limited in number, such homes serve as models to the other members of the community.

Many of the little frame cottages also are owned by the occupants, and the bright yellow and green paint which goes on in the spring, tells a secret of home-land memories. All in all, "Dago Hill" is a splendid part of the city for a growing industrial community to develop. It stands high above Mill Creek Valley, and the children have the hillsides on which to romp. The chief difficulty lies in the close rows of little "Noah's Ark" cottages, and the ignorance of the immigrant housewife, who does not realize that individual laxness in hygienic precautions may be the forerunner of an epidemic, or that sordid home surroundings are destined in this new country to cause far more serious results than in far-distant sunny Italy.

#### Poles:

The Polish district joins the downtown Italian section. On the south side of O'Fallon Street, which marks the boundary line, will be found Sicilian fruit shops, while across the street, all merchandise is advertised in Slavic characters, quite unintelligible to the reader of Latin letters. Strictly speaking, there are in this community, besides the natives of Russian and Austrian Poland, the Polish Jew, the Russian proper, who comes from the heart of Russia, near Odessa and Kiev, and the Lithuanian. These people live from Broadway to Twentieth Street and north as far as Twenty hundred. Fortunately, a door to door canvass of a representative Polish block in this district was made by the St. Louis College Club in its housing investigation in 1914. Of the ninety-four families studied, numbering 413 persons, 34 per cent were Polish and 37.2 per cent were recorded as Jewish. The investigator's cards, however, do not show careful discrimination as to races, and the word "Yiddish," was written in cases where the family was unable to explain further. Many of these were Polish Jews. The remaining 26.75 per cent was scattered among Irish and German residents still living in the community, and a few Italian and Russian families. Poland, therefore was the source of over 50 per cent of the families in the district.

The tenements, three-story brick buildings, put up within the last ten or fifteen years, were reported to be in fair order, but the living conditions showed serious over-crowding, and were generally rated as conspicuously bad.

Frederick Almy, in his article, "The Huddled Poles of Buffalo," says:

"Half the Polish families in Buffalo, or 40,000 people, average two occupants to a room. There are beds under beds (trundle beds, by the way, were once quite respectable), and mattresses piled high on one

bed during the day will cover all the floors at night. Lodgers in addition to the family are, in some sections, almost the rule rather than the exception. Under such conditions, privacy of living, privacy of sleeping, privacy of dressing, privacy of toilet, privacy for study, are all impossible, especially in the winter season, and those who have nerves, which are not confined to the rich, in spite of an impression to the contrary, are led near to insanity. Brothers and sisters sleep together far beyond the age of safety. It begins so, and parents do not realize how fast children grow or how dangerous it is."<sup>6</sup>

Similar conditions were found among St. Louis Poles, where the comfort and privacy of many families were stretched to include lodgers. Thirty-two Polish families, living in one block, numbered 172 persons. Only one, a family of five and one lodger, had an apartment of four rooms. Sixteen families lived in three rooms each, and fifteen lived in two rooms each. Sixteen, or half of the thirty-two families, took lodgers. "To all outward appearances," said one investigator, "there is absolutely no place for boarders, but a second look usually reveals numerous feather mattresses piled high upon a lone bedstead. At night, these come down upon the filthy floor, and an indefinite number can be accommodated around the kitchen stove." Little discrimination is made between the men and the women, though in the summer, the men may sleep in the yards. These, strangely enough, are neat and well-kept, a strong contrast to the disorderly interior, which was the cause of much speculation until a visiting nurse of Russian birth explained the apparent paradox. In Poland, a peasant must keep his yard neat or suffer reprimand from the government, which does not, however, take the pains to look further. Thus, through ignorance largely, have originated many customs, which, when transplanted to this country, at once label the Polish immigrant as an individual of low standards.

The eagerness with which many of these Poles seek better surroundings has tangible proof in the two settlements which the more successful are forming for themselves, in South St. Louis, on Pulaski Street, and in the northwestern part of the city, near Walnut Park. To walk with the priest through these Polish parishes and see the compact little homes that are being built around the church, and the parochial school, illumines even the memory of the city's darkest spots, with hope and promise for the future, when knowledge of modern standards is each man's right, not his rare privilege.

### **The Jews:**

The Jews began coming to St. Louis soon after the Bohemians, but their natural penchant for "small business," located their settlement in the center of the city rather than on the outskirts. They were the first of the recent immigration to enter the old residence district just west of Broadway, and north of Locust Avenue. From Broadway they have pushed westward steadily, until they now stretch a solid phalanx from Twelfth Street to Garrison Avenue between Franklin and Cass Avenues. Their "apart-

6. Almy, F. "The Huddled Poles of Buffalo," *The Survey*, Feb. 4, 1911.

ments," consist generally of two rooms and a kitchen, nicely papered, and supplied with water and gas. The rent varies from nine to fourteen dollars per month. Nearer Garrison Avenue the houses are chiefly old mansions. In order to get these larger houses with their conveniences of inside toilet and bath, the Jewish family will take a few boarders. The lodger in this case does not introduce the social difficulties that he does among the Poles, because it has long been customary, even for children in the same family, to be separated according to sex; the boys sleeping in one room and the girls in another.<sup>7</sup> The popular belief that the Jews are a very dirty group of people might gain local credence if certain tenements were visited, but against these isolated cases, distressing as they are, must be massed the encouraging number of carefully kept homes, showing ambition and industry. The future is indicated in the jump from Garrison Avenue to Wellston and adjacent districts, where many of the second generation are settling today.

These three neighborhoods, especially the Italian and the Polish, present some of the worst housing conditions in St. Louis, and the impression which the visitor carries away in the winter, of flooded yards and ice packed pumps; in the summer, of open privies and over-flowing garbage boxes, is a standing condemnation of the indifference of landlords and the laxity of municipal authority.

### **The River Front:**

It is but a few moments' ride from the attractive residences of certain old families on the south side, whose sloping lawns with shade trees survey the sweep of the Mississippi, to the squalor of South Second and Third Street tenements. Many of the important industrial plants of the city are located along the river and thus the streets between the great machine shops, foundries and factories, are built up with two and three-story tenements, the homes of men and women who make possible the turning of the industrial wheels.

An arbitrary division of this river front might be made at Cass Avenue and at Market Street. North of Cass Avenue, along the streets running parallel with Broadway, live many foreigners from Southern Europe. On the streets running east and west, above and below Broadway, live the Germans. Between Cass Avenue and Market Street, Broadway and the river, lies the wholesale and warehouse district of the city. Except for a few Greek coffee houses, in the lofts of which lodging houses are conducted, there are few dwellings in this neighborhood. South of Market Street exists more congestion than in any part of the city, excepting always, the Italian settlement. The population here has chameleon qualities; the majority of the families come and go, moving away from the forlorn surroundings when fortune smiles, and back again when fortune turns. Strangely enough, in amongst this reduced tenement property, there are occasional examples of well-kept dwellings. These, for the most

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7. Taylor, Clara, Unpublished Report on "St. Louis Slums."

part, are still owned and inhabited by the original American born proprietors, who, for individual reasons, have not joined in the migration to the west of Grand Avenue, which took away most of their neighbors twenty years ago. Thus it was that a College Club housing investigator found herself in a parlor full of the most exquisite antique rosewood furniture, that would have raised high the hopes of any collector. Next door was a rakish looking wooden tenement, where all water had to be drawn from the court of a house around the corner.

Throughout the river front district the mixture of race is so very complex that a detailed survey showing the housing conditions by nationality would require months of work. Moreover, such a survey would not lead to just conclusions, because there are not a sufficient number of any one nationality, and the families move away too rapidly. Fortunately, the College Club Housing Investigation covered one typical block carefully and the results may be taken as representative of conditions along much of the stretch where the immigrant families are living.

The survey cards charted in the spring of 1914 seventy-four families in a given block on South Third Street. The houses, fifteen in number, were all listed as dwellings, with the exception of one grocery-saloon and one store. Six of the fifteen were registered as badly dilapidated and in need of repair. These buildings housed sixty-one persons. In each case, over 85 per cent of the ground lot was covered, 65 per cent being the limit of the present building law, and what small yard space was left was covered with rubbish. In one case, the six filthy toilet accommodations were used by the patrons of the saloon as well as by the thirteen families in the tenement itself. Four houses received the approval of the investigator, the remaining five were marked "fair." Many of the apartments were empty, and it seemed very apparent that the tenant moved the moment he was financially able to do so. The rent, \$3.50 and \$3.75 a month, for two rooms, was so low that it practically advertised bad conditions, willingly endured only in time of un-employment or disaster.

The range of nationality was wide, showing only 38 per cent native-born, and as many as nine different nationalities among the 33 foreign-born families.

TABLE IV.—GENERAL NATIVITY OF SEVENTY-FOUR THIRD STREET FAMILIES.

General Nativity.	Num-ber.	Per-centage.
American-born.....	19	25.7
German-American.....	10	13.5
Irish-American.....	3	4.0
Foreign-born, South and East Eu- rope.....	33	44.6
Unknown.....	9	12.2
Total number families.....	74	100.0

TABLE V.—NATIONALITY OF THIRTY-THREE FOREIGN-BORN FAMILIES FROM SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE.

Nationality of Foreign-Born South and East Europe.	Number.
Austrian.....	2
Hungarian.....	1
Russian.....	15
Polish.....	8
Bohemian.....	2
Italian.....	2
Greek.....	1
Slovak.....	1
Roumanian.....	1
Total.....	33

Splendid material was available from the following statistics to show relative tendencies in over-crowding:

TABLE VI—CROWDING IN THIRD STREET, BY GENERAL NATIVITY.

Nativity.	Percentage	Average persons per family.	Average number rooms per family.	Average number persons per room.
American.....	25.7	3.26	3.94	.82
German-American..	13.5	2.50	2.20	1.13
Irish-American.....	4.0	3.33	3.00	1.11
Unknown.....	12.2	2.00	2.11	.94
Foreign-born.....	44.6	6.18	2.60	2.37
Total.....	100.0	4.17	2.85	1.51

Native Americans had the highest average in number of rooms per family. They also showed small families. The low rates prevailing among cases listed as unknown may be explained by various instances of abnormal family groups about whom it was difficult to get details.

The foreign-born families were well supplied with children and the overcrowding revealed in the 2.37 persons per room approaches conditions in the O'Fallon Street territory.

Speaking generally, the housing conditions along the river front are bad. Many of the families are forced to go down two and three flights of stairs for water. The outside privy with all its evils is universal. The requirement that each tenant housing eight or more families must have a janitor is met by a scheme which is found elsewhere throughout the city. A family, which cannot afford to pay rent, is given janitor duties in return for housing. Such unfortunates usually have no qualifications for *the position*. Their standards are no better than those of the

other tenants. Even if they were, little heed would be paid to orders issued by a person whom the tenants know was living "rent free." The need of repairs, the accumulation in the vaults, and the general dilapidation of the whole district, vouch amply for the inefficiency of this janitor service.

Similar conditions exist along the cross streets between the river and Broadway, as far south as Meramec Street. Then single houses begin to predominate, and the mixed nationalities gradually shade off into a clear German or German-American population, which is disturbed by only one South European settlement of any size, that of the Spaniards.

#### **Russians:**

Fifteen families, or very nearly 50 per cent of the families studied in this investigation were Russians. The typical apartments consisted of three small rooms, the middle one being nothing but a dark closet which opened into the front room and into the kitchen. Aside from the ventilation of these two doors, the only light and air that got into this middle room was through a hole cut into the wall between the kitchen and the room itself. Of course, this was invariably the chief sleeping abode, although the meagre furnishings would not suggest the fact. In Russia, the peasants sleep on wooden benches against the four walls, sometimes even on the great earthen stove, so this absence of beds is not surprising. Strings of dried vegetables hung in the window overlooking the yard. Even though the frost was not yet out of the ground, the women were going about barefooted. Several met the visitor halfway down the street, their backs bent double under a heavy load of sticks picked up on the railroad tracks near the river.

#### **Spaniards:**

Between 6400 and 7000 South Broadway, there is quite a colony from the mountainous regions of Spain and Portugal. Most of the men labored in zinc mines in the old country. Induced by promises of higher wages, they came to St. Louis to find employment in the larger zinc works on the river front in Carondelet. In the fall of 1914 nearly the whole plant was shut down and many of the unmarried men left the city. A reliable resident of the district, who had given medical attention to the colony for years, estimated the number of families in January, 1915, at forty. There were some fifty children in the Blow and Carondelet Schools, so apparently his further estimate of 250 Spaniards in this particular colony was conservative.

The Spaniards live principally along Broadway. Some of the families occupy a few rooms over stores, and most of the corner saloons have lodging accommodations for single men. Like the Italians, the Spaniards do not make a definite practice of taking single men as lodgers into the family groups. These lodging houses vary as to their sanitary conditions. In one specific case, the whole place was spotless, and the saloon had the air of a social club. In another house, it was stated that three



shifts of men used the same beds. The zinc factory runs in twenty-four hour shifts, consequently, there are irregular and prolonged hours of sleeping, and the individual is too weary to do more than throw himself on his pallet. These conditions are bad and should be thoroughly investigated.

A few families live in tiny houses back from the river on Pennsylvania Avenue. There are many open lots and most of the houses have their own little garden, so while the outside privy is universal and the number of bathtubs limited, still the housing does its share in the guarantee of healthy citizens. This colony is always much larger in the summer than in the winter. The reason was hard to ascertain. One black-eyed storekeeper, who claimed that her father was the first Spanish immigrant to come to St. Louis twenty-four years ago, said: "They work all over the state in winter, but come back to St. Louis for the summer, because they have a good time." This seems contrary to the practice of most immigrant laborers, who usually want work out of the city during the summer months.

#### **Austrians, Hungarians and Bohemians:**

The immigrants from the dual monarchy live under the most favorable housing conditions of the non-English speaking races especially studied in this report. Of course, the Austrians proper have been in this country longer than many other races and have won positions in the industrial life of the city that command wages sufficient to permit, not only better standards, but that perpetuator of standards, a bank account. The more well-to-do families live just East of Lafayette Park. Roughly speaking, the whole district between Broadway and Eighteenth Street from Chouteau Avenue to 2100 South, contains many Austrians. However, it must be borne in mind that in the same district there are distributed colonies of Croatians, Bohemians, Servians and Syrians. The Hungarians proper, that is, the Magyar speaking people, are few in number. They live in the 1600 block on South Broadway over the busv stores of enterprising Germans. Many of the Austrians, and most of the Bohemian residents are naturalized citizens and owners of property. The effect is immediately seen in the amount of repairing done and in the whole atmosphere, which is one of proud ownership. Such homes form the backbone of a city like St. Louis.

#### **Croatians:**

In recent years the Croatians have attracted attention throughout the country, because of certain decided artistic qualities, which appear to be racial characteristics. A year or so ago, in St. Louis, some Croatian musicians gave the Christmas entertainment at a great West End mansion. The guests were perfectly astounded and demanded of the host that he tell them where he had discovered such rare ability. If an earnest inquirer were to stand almost any day in the entrance of "The Croatian Educational and Cultural Society," 14th and Chouteau, he would realize that the Croatians, as a race, have ideals of

culture that should mean much in their future citizenship. This hall is the rendezvous for some five hundred families living on Chouteau Avenue, from Broadway west to Eighteenth Street, and between Fourteenth and Eighteenth Streets south to Carroll. English lessons, music lessons, debates, theatrical rehearsals are in progress every hour in the day, and in the evenings there is not an unoccupied corner in the whole building, a remodeled mansion of Civil War times.

Along Chouteau Avenue, these old mansions of the wealthy French families stand gray and gaunt. Soot from nearby factory chimneys drifts through the broken window panes. The imposing stone fronts greet only the pounding flat wheels of the passing trolley car. On the inside, the fine old staircases are the common passageway for lodgers, and the great rooms have been partitioned off with rough planks, or even with curtains, in order to accommodate individual families. Many Croatians live in these close quarters, and it is much to their credit that the rooms are orderly and the relationships of life peaceful. The feeling of race loyalty is very strong and boarders are frequently found, though there are several regular boarding houses run for Croatian single men by married couples. Those visited were kept in excellent order.

On the side streets there are the regulation two and three-story tenements, which hold from two to six families each. These buildings are in fairly good repair and the rear tenements have been erected on lots much larger than those of Sixth and Seventh Streets, so that the heat of the summer does not mean such intense discomfort as it does in the more congested Italian neighborhood.

### **Syrians:**

The Syrians now live in the same neighborhood as the Croatians. The original families located over the shops on Fourth Street, south of Poplar, but the settlement has increased to over three hundred families in the last few years, and Hickory, La Salle and Papin Streets, as far west as Tenth Street, are consistently Syrian. The Catholic Church, St. Raymond, with its Syrian pastor and school for Syrian children, heads this more recent settlement at Tenth and La Salle. This particular street is not a thoroughfare. The houses are all old residences now converted into boarding houses or make-shift tenements. Set back from the street in the shade of the trees, their first appearance is one of great comfort. Certainly, the open yards are fine for the children, but the interiors of the houses leave much to be desired in standards of cleanliness. The absence of the women folk all day, for the Syrian woman with her baby and her bundle, peddling along the West End street is a common sight, leaves the house unkept, and the children running the streets. These Syrians are Maronites, a very religious Catholic sect, which comes from Lebanon, Palestine. Shut off from the rest of the city, the peace and quiet of La Salle Street is unique among the foreign neighborhoods.

**Roumanians:**

There are occasional groups of Roumanians scattered along the river front, but by far the largest community is on Vandeventer Avenue running six blocks south of Market street. Most of the tiny shops and the corner saloons within these boundaries are owned by thrifty Roumanians. The patrons live on the side streets, Sarpy, Gratiot, and Chouteau, from 3800 to 4100. Clannish in spirit, proud of its nationality, the settlement has grown because of its proximity to the Liggett and Myers Tobacco Factory, where most of the women work. The men also find employment nearby in the Independent Packing Company, the St. Louis Dressed Beef Company, and in the United Railways Company, which has its headquarters at Park and Vandeventer Avenues. Rents in this particular neighborhood are low, probably because of the inevitable odor nuisance connected with the meat-packing establishments. Notwithstanding this, the dwellings are very good, single one-story and two-story brick flats. What few rear tenements do exist are of a very recent date and as well built as the front houses. Both stand on a good sized lot. The yards are fenced in neatly. White curtains do not hang in the windows for appearance alone. They symbolize the Roumanian housewife's fame, for the interior of the little homes are immaculate. The writer has visited in many of the homes and, with few exceptions, found beautifully starched counterpanes, clean bed linen, and a closet full of carefully arranged piles of homespun articles, brought from the old country. The pride of these women in their household possessions is an index of home conditions sufficient to warrant most of the above statements without further inquiry.

**Immigrant Lodging Houses:**

A report on housing conditions among the foreign-born in St. Louis would not be complete without reference to the accommodations which house a vast majority of the single male immigrants. The 1914 report of the Commissioner General of Immigration shows that the chief immigration in the past years has been from countries which are sending over a large proportion of single men. It shows further that there were in the United States 16,000 more Croatian and Slovenian men than women, that the proportion from Southern Italy was three to one, from Greece, eight to one, and from Ruthenia, six men to one woman. St. Louis gets its share of such single men. For instance, it is said that in 1908, when there were three thousand Greeks in the city, there were only fifty-seven women. These men have come purely for the money that they can earn. Their relatives are kept in the old country and the men intend returning as soon as their services have been exchanged for currency.

The presence of so many single men constitutes one of the most serious phases of the whole immigration problem. Not only do they form a shifting labor supply, but the unnatural social life, and the lack of family responsibility, give rise to *moral evils* which have a far-reaching influence on any

community in which a large number of these men reside. In 1909, a careful investigation was made of the cheap lodging houses of the city by the Municipal Commission on Tuberculosis. Conditions were found to be such that the detailed report published in 1913 was confirmed as still indicative of the housing of great numbers of foreigners.

According to a recent police census, made at the request of the Commission, the number of foreign-born white roomers and boarders in the various police districts of the city, living in houses more or less insanitary, approximates 4,130 persons. These figures excluded entirely the large lodging house population. Furthermore, this number did not include many individuals who were boarding in families with only one or two roomers each. Nor were the Negroes or Chinese included. The principal nationalities were distributed as follows:

Austrians,	}	.....1100
Slovenians,		
Croatians,		
Italian,		700
Greeks,		800
Hungarians,		200
Servians,		200
Macedonians,		200
Others,		930
Total,		4130

These 4,130 roomers lived in 408 houses which contained 1,329 rooms. Each house had an average of ten roomers and each room had a capacity of a little more than three persons. Measured by the New York standards of one and one-half persons per room this represents almost hopeless crowding. One of the rooms usually served as a dining room. Sometimes this was utilized as the sleeping room for the family which ran the lodging house. The real meaning of crowding and its moral effects can better be understood by citation of one typical case: Three separate families and thirty roomers in a house of eight rooms.

"The filth and dirt of these lodging houses is quite indescribable. Often, four to eight men were discovered living in one room. They cooked, ate and slept in this one spot, all with the windows nailed down and the provisions, such as bread, piled along the window-sill. The mattresses on the beds were hopelessly dirty, and sheets and pillow-cases conspicuous only through their absence. In many instances the legs of the cot rested on tin cans, in the hope of affording better protection against vermin. The men out of work played cards and drank all day. At night, those who had been at work came in 'dead tired', to throw themselves on the dirty bed, after removing shoes only. So they slept, with a tattered bed quilt drawn over the head, until the morning hours, when the night workers appeared, clamoring for their turn on the cots." <sup>8</sup>

Single rooms in these lodging-houses rent for \$5.00 a month. A suite of two rooms brings \$7.00 to \$9.00, but the actual amount paid by one individual becomes a mere pittance

8. "Unregulated Lodging Houses."

when shared by the various roommates. Somewhat higher rates are charged in the boarding houses managed by an immigrant couple, where the labors of the immigrant housewife are reckoned as material assets. Many of these houses are kept very neatly, and the men are well fed.

The opportunities for exploitation in these native boarding houses are numerous. During the season of unemployment in 1915, one boarding house keeper made it a definite policy to keep the men in debt, so that he might have influence when the chance came for directing them into channels of labor. Any attempt to reach the men through English classes was frowned upon and the only recreation for over one hundred Greeks, Albanians and Ruthenians, many of whom were but sixteen and seventeen years of age, was in the grocery or the saloon adjoining either end of the lodging house. Needless to say, the proprietor operated both of these "joints", and was careful to see that the men did not go elsewhere. Nothing severe enough can be said about such conditions. There should be strict police surveillance and the employment of plain clothes men who speak Slavic languages, and can move about among these groups of single men to prevent the frequent cases of exploitation.

Such housing conditions speak for themselves. The property holders and the immigrant tenants are both responsible in varying degrees. There is no doubt, however, that these conditions could be vastly improved and that the immigrant could be made a satisfactory tenant. With proper surroundings he would respond far more quickly to the demands of good citizenship than he is able to at the present time struggling as he is, "through the hindrance laid in his way by the greed of landlord and the neglect of Municipal Government".<sup>9</sup>

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#### CHAPTER IV.

#### THE OCCUPATION OF THE IMMIGRANT IN ST. LOUIS.

St. Louis has reached its position of "fourth manufacturing city", largely through the energy and enterprise of other than native born St. Louisans. The history of the city's industrial expansion unconsciously pays tribute to the Germans, whose business perspicacity helped to shape its character as a manufacturing city. In the ranks of entrepreneur and artisan, these independent spirits of '48 and '49 recognized the geographical advantage of the city's location, and laid the foundation of industries destined to make St. Louis the great distributing center for the South and Southeast. The Bohemian immigration

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<sup>9</sup> *Deforest and Veiller* ed., "The Tenement House Problem," vol. II, p. 89.

added a colony of tradesmen. The city prospered. Soon, with the establishment of the great foundries for railroad construction, the growth of the glazed tile industry and other enterprises, came demands for unskilled labor. These dovetailed with the rapidly increasing immigration to eastern shores. St. Louis began to receive its quota of Italians, Russians and Poles in annually greater numbers, until the eventful month of August, 1914.

Just what part these recent immigrants are playing in the industrial life of St. Louis is an absorbing question. An authoritative answer would, perhaps, be the best argument for or against immigration, which could be found; but reliable data on the subject are almost impossible to obtain.

#### SELECTED INDUSTRIES

The Federal Immigration Commission Report contains an industrial study of other large cities, but for St. Louis there is almost no reference material. In the recent report of the Massachusetts Immigration Commission, the investigators were not only able to use the Federal report, but the annual state report, which presented a wealth of statistical information. What little information the Missouri State publications give on the subject of immigration to Missouri, is copied from the report of the United States Commissioner General, and refers to the state at large. These data, meagre enough for the state, have no local value.

To gain some idea of the situation in St. Louis, the Business Men's League was asked to make out a list of the firms employing the largest number of foreign-born employees. In addition, a list was secured from the factory inspector of smaller establishments such as tailors, restaurants, and shoe shining parlors. These were all checked up by work addresses taken from the English class registration cards in night schools.

To thirty-seven firms selected as most representative of the industries employing foreign labor, schedules were sent, asking the country of birth, of all employees. Conclusions reached in this chapter are based on the returns from these blanks, which were supplemented by opinions of various employers, superintendents, social workers, factory inspectors and immigrant laborers themselves. Eight of the thirty-seven firms refused information. Three firms employing, under normal conditions, over twenty-five hundred men, the largest proportion foreign-born, were shut down, owing to hard times. The remaining twenty-six schedules covered 22,831 employees. Seven of these twenty-six firms, however, reported that they employed few non-English speaking immigrants, or those from Southern Europe. The following table shows the tabulated results of nineteen schedules, covering 7,347 cases of foreign-born employees:

TABLE VII.—NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES BY SPECIFIC NATIVITY IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES, 1915.

Number	Industry.	Total Number Employees.	Birthplace.		
			U S. A.	N. Europe.	S. Europe.
1	Barber Supply.....	138	91	23	24
2	Biscuit Company...	405	367	6	32
3	Candy Company...	537	479	.....	58
4	Car Shops.....	3800	1710	.....*	2090
5	Clothing.....	691	328	.....	363
6	Cordage Mill.....	282	45	9	228
7	Fire Brick.....	413	79	27	307
8	Glue Company.....	20	14	4	2
9	Iron Foundry.....	143	50	.....	93
10	Lead Company.....	250	185	19	46
11	Municipal Works...	970	251	429	290
12	Packing Company..	643	404	.....	239
13	Shoe (1).....	2400	1848	48	504
14	Shoe (2).....	771	524	20	227
15	Soap Company.....	216	162	.....	54
16	Steel Company.....	1277	839	115	323
17	Street R. R.....	4217	3275	665	277
18	Tobacco.....	2936	2148	270	518
19	Wire Company.....	186	149	17	20
Total.....		20295	12948	1652	5695

\* No statistics given.

The tobacco and clothing industries employ women chiefly, and will be considered apart from the other industries. The preponderant number of foreign-born employees in the selected car shops, shoe factories, and the manufacture of clay products is representative of those industries as a whole. Accordingly, a more detailed explanation of the work done by these men will serve to illustrate the share taken by the immigrant in commercial prosperity. First, however, a reason should be given for omitting the line of business which employs the largest number of men in St. Louis—the breweries.

#### Breweries:

One of the first industries started by the Germans was the manufacture of beer. Today, the name of Budweiser and Falstaff are known to the ends of the earth. Waiving the ethical merits of such advertisement, the demand for skilled labor created by the twenty-five manufacturing establishments is of recognized importance. According to the Red Book, the 1914 publication of the Missouri State Labor Bureau, 6,188<sup>1</sup> men and women were employed in 1913-14 in the production of beer. On first thought, this might seem the natural place in which to find the immigrant. On the contrary, this work is strongly unionized and membership entails American citizenship.

1. Red Book, 1914, p. 548.

For this, among other reasons, Germans and Austrians, who have been in the country for many years, are almost the only types found. One of the managers, in replying to questions asked, wrote:

"With our plant it is probably different than with many of the large establishments, as we do not employ what is generally termed 'ordinary common laborers.' All of our employes are classified as gas or steam fitters, engineers, brewers, malsters, bottlers, etc., and all belong to unions. The very large majority of our employes have been with us for a number of years, many of them from thirty-five to forty years."

### Shoe Industry:

St. Louis ranks first as a distributing center for shoes. Over \$70,000,000 worth of shoes have been produced in one year.<sup>2</sup> The immigrant has proved good material for some of the cruder processes required in the manufacture of such a vast output. Because of the importance of the local factories in the shoe industry throughout the United States, the Federal Government made a special study of St. Louis factories in 1908. The following extract throws considerable light on the immigrant:

"As representative of racial substitutions in connection with the industry in the Middle West, the history of immigration to boot and shoe manufacturing establishments in St. Louis may be presented. The manufacture of shoes in St. Louis began nearly forty years ago. To establish the industry it was necessary to secure men as foremen who had had training and experience. New England at the time occupied the commanding position in this industry, and it was to this section that St. Louis turned for well-trained men. The men secured were native whites, and these men, as foremen, together with local native whites and Germans and Irish, formed the working nucleus of what has become one of the most important industries in St. Louis today. As the industry expanded the more skilled of this force were employed by other companies or in other plants of the same company, in the same capacity as were those from New England. Only within the past ten years, have the more recent immigrants to this country entered the industry in this particular section. The first were the Italians employed in 1900. This race was followed by the Bohemians and Poles in 1902, the Greeks, Armenians, and a few Turks in 1904, and a small number of Swedes and Maygars, in 1905. In the opinion of the officials of several companies, not over 16 per cent of the employes in this locality are of the more recent immigrant races. In St. Louis, as in other large cities, where the various plants are so widely scattered, the racial make-up of each plant's force is governed almost entirely by its location. By way of illustration, one plant is located in the heart of an Irish and German community, another in a Polish, and still another in a section of St. Louis where the Bohemians are quite strong. Practically all of the more recent immigrants have entered the unskilled occupations. Rare exceptions in the case of individuals have been noted. In this connection the Italian is more favorably commented on than the others. This is attributed to his knowledge of the needle and knife gained in his native country, where many of the race have worked as 'cobblers'."<sup>3</sup>

Schedules returned by the two largest shoe firms showed that out of 3,171 employes, 731 or 23 per cent were foreign-born, an increase of 7 per cent since 1908. The following table gives predominating nationalities:

2. Business Men's League Pamphlet, 1914.

3. Report of U. S. Immigration Commission, Vol. 12, p. 519.



TABLE VIII.—COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF WORKERS IN TWO SHOE CONCERNS.

Country of Birth.	Male.	Female.
Austria.....	22	2
Bohemia.....	23	16
Bulgaria.....	3	.....
Greek.....	212	2
Hungary.....	26	.....
Italy.....	69	6
Poland.....	92	22
Roumania.....	48	2
Russia.....	107	25
Syria.....	16	.....
Turkey.....	38	.....
North Europe.....	57	11
U. S. A.....	1507	865
Total.....	2220	951

The superintendent of one factory reported:

"The Bohemians and Poles are very steady and reliable; the Russians are very painstaking."

The Greeks and Turks were found in supply plants where there is packing and heavy work, or in the most unskilled departments, such as heel cutting. They also build heels, which, in the cheap shoe, is a comparatively simple operation and consists of merely sticking the "lifts" together with cement. Other foreigners trim the scrap leather. This class of workers would, on an average, get not more than eight to twelve dollars a week. A few mould counters and some exceptional men were designated who operated a "beam machine" for cutting leather, and earned as high as twenty-five dollars a week. The consensus of opinion of the superintendents interviewed seemed to be that the recent immigrant is less efficient than the workman from Northern Europe, or the native American. "Our experience has been that they do not make much progress on jobs such as cutting leather for soles and counters, or other work that requires very much intelligence." However, these same men expressed belief in the steady rise of the recent immigrant in the scale of occupation.

#### Car Companies:

A complete shut-down of the great iron and steel foundries of the car companies during the winter of 1914-15 made the gathering of up-to-date statistics impossible. Only one company continued work, its force greatly reduced. In 1913, approximately 7,894<sup>4</sup> men were employed in car shops. Seven thousand, three hundred<sup>5</sup> more found work in the machine shops and foundries. Sixty-five per cent, at least, of this vast force, was immigrant labor. During 1913, a study was made of several

4. Red Book, 1914, p. 548.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 548.

of the largest foundries by a Fellow of the School of Social Economy, who wished to investigate the work done by Negroes in such establishments. He found that the immigrant was the Negro's nearest competitor, and traced the displacement of successive groups of native labor by different nationalities, finally by the Negro, "first because he was needed, second because he could be held as a club over dissatisfied workers; and third, because he was profitable, being content to work at proffered wages".<sup>6</sup> This statement renders significant tribute to a progress of the immigrant in his ideas of labor—worthy of the American unionist! The groups of foreigners in this type of work far outnumber the Negro, and besides Hungarians, Poles, Russians and Croatians living in the city, laborers for the heavy work are recruited from the transient army of single men—Albanian, Roumanian, Poles and Italians, who are in the habit of wintering in St. Louis between agricultural seasons.

The shut-down of these foundries has been the cause of much suffering among immigrant families. The physical strength of the men, once their chief asset, has been a goad of restless desires, upon which the corner saloons and the pool rooms have thrived.

#### **Brick and Tile Industry:**

The native soil of St. Louis County makes possible one of the most successful industries in the city—the manufacture of fire brick and glazed tile.

"The work performed is common labor and teaming. The common laborers are divided into the following tasks: setting, burning, off-bearing, firing and wheeling. The setters and burners place the green brick in the kiln, the firemen fire the kiln, the off-bearers wheel away the brick after it has been baked, and the wheelers hand clay to the crushing machine, or do various wheeling tasks. Only a few Negroes were seen working at the brick-making machines, white labor, Armenians, Italians and Greeks being used for that task. All the work is unskilled, and offers no opportunity for advancement. The principal redeeming feature about the work is that it offers steady employment for the full year, \* \* \* the hours of labor are from 7 a. m. until 6 p. m. Hungarians and Poles seem rather to prefer the foundries, and the Italians the brickyards."<sup>7</sup>

The head of one of the largest firms writes:

"It is our experience that the Huns and Poles are more efficient for heavy work than the other nationalities; the Jew is best fitted for keeping stock, or in any work with merchandising tendencies; the Italian and French make the best mechanics where quickness is essential; the Germans and English are the most efficient when accuracy is called for, as in delicate tool work."

"Dago Hill"—the Italian settlement south of the Mill Creek Valley—has grown up as direct result of the several fire brick factories located in the valley. The Italians like the sunny, outdoor work, yet are quick to appreciate opportunities which open the way into skilled positions as the above quotation indicates.

6. Crossland, W. A. "Industrial Conditions among Negroes in St. Louis," p. 80-81.

7. Ibid, p. 80-81.

Those around the brick yards are chiefly North Italians, an excellent class of labor, earning from twelve to twenty dollars a week. This substantial salary makes possible the neat houses mentioned in the chapter on housing, as characteristic of "Dago Hill".

#### MUNICIPAL WORK.

One of the most interesting employers of foreign labor is the City of St. Louis itself. Until the new charter went into effect, the appointments in the street department, where the largest number of unskilled laborers are employed, were considered rather in the light of political "plums". The names of candidates for street cleaners were sent in as religiously by "friends" as for the position of office secretary. An ultimate selection from the resulting waiting list rested with the street commissioner or the division superintendent. The Civil Service requirement of the new charter has taken away the power of appointment from any official in the department. A foreman may still discharge, but he cannot take on any new man who is not certified by the Board of Efficiency. As late as June, 1915, there had been no changes in the pay roll which necessitated the services of this board. Consequently, the nationality of the various employees, which was carefully compiled by the street commissioner, furnishes suggestive information concerning the immigrant's interest in city politics.

There are three municipal divisions which employ foreign-born labor; the street repairing, the sewer, and the street cleaning departments. The following table shows the number of foreign-born employees by nationality in each division:

TABLE IX.—NATIONALITY OF CITY EMPLOYEES IN STREET DEPARTMENT 1915.

Nationality.	Street Repairs.	Sewers.	Street Cleaning.	Total.
Bohemian.....	5	1	28	34
Croatian.....	2	.....	.....	2
English.....	5	1	29	35
French.....	.....	2	.....	2
German.....	21	16	199	236
Greek.....	.....	.....	24	24
Hebrew.....	1	2*	25	28
Irish.....	13	30	111	154
Italian.....	10	2	81	93
Polish.....	3	1	.....	4
Servian.....	1	.....	.....	1
Scotch.....	.....	1	.....	1
Syrians.....	11	47	46	104
Welsh.....	1	.....	.....	1
U. S. A. White.....	83	73	25	181
U. S. A. Colored.....	.....	20	50	70
Total.....	156	196	618	970

\* Russian Jew.

The large number of German and Irish is to be expected. The numerical importance of the first group in the city's population, and the instinctive political activity of the second, would explain their presence, even if they did not make most excellent workers. The large number of Syrians is the one item which requires explanation. This is hinted at when the statement is made that every Syrian takes out his naturalization papers<sup>8</sup> the day after his arrival in St. Louis. There seems to have been somewhere among the Syrians, a strong leader, whose shrewd handling of his countrymen's votes has had tangible results.

#### **Street Repairing Department:**

There are five divisions in the street repairing department:

Occupation.	Number.	Salary.
1. Clerical.....	13	\$100 per month.
2. Mechanical.....	21	5 per day.
3. Foreman.....	3	75 per month.
4. Rammers.....	22	2.80 per day.
5. Pavers' Helpers.....	97	2.40 per day.

A Croatian and an Italian mechanic were the only two South Europeans in the first two groups, but the division superintendent said the Croatian was the best worker he had, and that his experience in the old country as a paver, made him invaluable. The rammers were picked men, taken from the lowest class, the pavers' helpers. These men use the picks and the driver. They must have strength and be steady in control of their power. But six of these men were foreign-born. The South Europeans were found in the last class, pavers' helpers, receiving \$2.40 per day. They did the rough, heavy work of carrying, loading, digging and pounding. The superintendent said that all of these men were splendid workmen. At first, some appeared clumsy, but he attributed that to ignorance of English. A few were going to night school. All possessed physical strength which the superintendent declared he rarely found in the class of city Americans who could be taken on for such work.

#### **Sewer Department:**

The sewer department employs two classes of men; sewer workers, who get \$75.00 a month and day laborers, who are paid \$2.00 a day for eight hours (municipal limit) of work. One hundred and three of these 196 men were foreign-born, and the Syrians outnumbered even the Irish, 47 to 30. This work requires not only strength, but quick thinking for emer-

gencies are apt to occur in the great network of underground pipes, which form the sewer system of a great city.

#### **Street Cleaning Department:**

The largest department, employing 618 men, is the street cleaning department. In selecting men for these positions, it has been customary to give work to old men, who otherwise would become city charges. It is definitely recognized that more efficient work could be done with a smaller squad, if younger and more able men were selected. The present administration argues that it is good economy to allow these old men to earn their weekly stipend, rather than to put the equivalent amount into their institutional support.

These men receive \$1.50 a day. The superintendent said that the 199 Germans and 111 Irish men were nearly all between sixty and seventy-five years, old men, who have served the city faithfully during many long years of their lives. The Bohemians and English were also old men, typical of the earlier immigration. The Italians were mixed, but the Syrians and the Greeks were all young, active men. When asked to explain the presence of so many young Syrians and Greeks, the superintendent confessed himself unable to give any reason. The Jews, twenty-five in number, were all Jewish Alliance cases of worthy dependents.

Whether or no the institution of civil service will change the nature of the municipal labor supply remains to be seen. Each department has submitted six qualifications which a successful candidate must possess. Inasmuch as strength is one of the prime requisites, and willingness to work steadily under direction, a second, the immigrant, may be expected in even greater numbers. Such work might prove excellent training for citizenship. The very name "city employe" carries with it, besides a surety of wage and limit to hours of labor, a certain dignity, which is translated in the heart of the foreigner into intense loyalty. As in any other line of work, the influence of the individual superintendent is potent, and the sympathetic boss who encourages his men to go to night school, advises them to complete their naturalization, and explains the duties of an American citizen from the point of view of an honest politician, has in his hands the possibility of untold influence.

#### **THE IMMIGRANT IN BUSINESS.**

The most encouraging phase of this whole question of occupation lies in the steady increase—numerical and qualitative—of business enterprises owned and managed by the recently arrived immigrant. Granted that the North Europeans have ample proof of their success as entrepreneurs in St. Louis, it is truly startling to learn what has been achieved in a few years by representatives of the Southern and Southeastern Europeans.

A chance conference one day brought to light a 1915 mailing list of Greek and Italian business houses. Perusal of these

two lists furnished surprising material for thought on the native business sagacity of these two nationalities. The following table gives the number and nature of the business establishments in St. Louis, January, 1915.

TABLE X.—BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS CONDUCTED BY GREEKS AND ITALIANS.\*

Business.	Greek.	Italian.
Artificial Flowers.....		1
Bakery.....		3
Barbershop.....	18	52
Billiard and Pool Parlor.....	21	9
Boarding House.....	8	2
Butcher.....		1
Cigar Manufacturing.....		2
Coffee House.....	19	
Commission Merchant.....		4
Confectionery.....	94	
Fruit Store.....		13
Grocery.....	5	74
Restaurant.....	140	
Saloon.....	6	95
Steamship Agent.....		6
Shoe Shine.....	26	
Tailor.....	5	6
Miscellaneous.....	60	
Total.....	402	268

\* Reppen, William—Translation Bureau, St. Louis.

### Greeks:

In round numbers there are 15,000 Italians in St. Louis, and 5,000 Greeks. The 402 business establishments evince the keen business instinct which characterizes the Greek wherever he is throughout the world. These same four hundred and two concerns represent over a million dollars' worth of invested capital. Under the heading "miscellaneous" are moving picture companies which operate on Market Street, one of which is valued at \$10,000. The number of Greek restaurants is astounding. Many of the eating places patronized by bachelor St. Louisans or by business men under titles such as "Elite Cafe", and "Home Restaurant", are owned by Greeks. By request, the Consumer's League made a special point of investigating such restaurants in their inspections during 1915. They reported that in most cases, the preparation of food was done under sanitary conditions. The shrewd business sense of the Greek made him glad to incorporate any changes suggested by the inspector. What criticism was made of these places involved the moral issue. Private employment agencies such as the Young Women's Christian Association, have had disastrous experiences in hiring girls out as waitresses in some of these restaurants. The eating houses patronized by the Greeks themselves, known as coffee

houses, have a particularly unsavory reputation. The police and Federal authorities openly admit the despicable luring of girls into lives of immorality, which goes on in these places, but they maintain that it is almost impossible to find girls who will produce on the witness stand the evidence necessary for conviction. This situation is a serious indictment of the present lack of employment agency inspection.

Greek shoe shining parlors are familiar sights, but few appreciate the fact that in many instances, they harbor cruel cases of peonage; on which Federal authorities have been working for months to obtain evidence. It would be almost impossible for the average person to understand how a boy could be kept a virtual prisoner in St. Louis, in the clutches of a man who purposely keeps him ignorant and cowed. Yet, thirty-five boys were kept one whole winter in a loft on Locust Street. The padrone who operated parlors on Sixth and Seventh Streets had a runner in the old country who paid the parents of these boys each \$150. They were then shipped to this country to work out the \$150, which was used, in most cases, to form a wedding dowry for the sister. In addition the padrone demanded service that would also cover the expense of the journey, and by keeping the boys shut off from contact with Americans, and by vigorously beating them when any signs of friendliness were shown by patrons, he succeeded in the feudal exploitation, until one boy got away. This lad stood by the Federal authorities, and enabled them to punish the offender, and liberate the other boys. However, similar conditions still exist.

#### **Italians:**

The range of Italian business interests forms a striking contrast with that of the Greek. In the place of restaurants, the most frequent enterprise of the Italian is the saloon. At once, the bright sociable nature of the Italian asserts itself in his choice of occupation. Groceries and fruit stands correspond to the candy store of the Greek, but suggest the background of sunny Italy where the Italian grows up amidst orchards and vineyards. He comes naturally by his knowledge of good fruits. The saloon and the grocery are both important factors in the community life of the Italian settlements, and the gossip of the neighborhood, friendly quarrels, and news of the day, are exchanged over the purchase of a few cents' worth. Such shops are more or less concentrated in the Italian or foreign districts, while the Greek stores are found throughout the West End, in pursuit of American, rather than foreign trade. The proportionate number of Greek men and the absence of family groups is responsible for this fact to a certain extent, but it also marks a difference in the national conception of business, which cannot fail to be of vital significance in any attempt to probe the commercial future of the city.

#### **Jews:**

*Among other nationalities, there is also a sincere desire for independent livelihood. The Jews, as a class, whether they be*

from Russia, Poland or Roumania, work towards a tiny business of some sort. Many begin as junk or fruit peddlers. Their capital is symbolized by an ancient nag, a creaking wagon and a raucous voice, but the ambitious thrift which underlies, makes possible within a surprisingly short time after, the possession of a cobbler's shop, a butcher shop, or a small tailoring shop.

As in other large cities, the wholesale clothing business is largely in the hands of the Jews. While several of the larger firms are operated by successful immigrants, it is to the smaller shops that one must turn for characteristic immigrant enterprise.

The following schedule gives the nationality of contractors of female employees in contract shops, which were studied during the minimum wage investigation for the State in 1914:

E XI.—NATIONALITY OF CONTRACTORS AND FEMALE EMPLOYEES IN CONTRACT SHOPS.\*

Nationality of Contractor.	Total Number. Cont.	Nationality of Female Employees.								Total Number Emp.
		Amer.	Irish.	Ger.	Jew.	Ital.	Bohem.	Other. F. B.	Not Reported	
Can.....	2	6	.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....	12
n.....	7	7	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	1	17	40
ian.....	1	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	11
.....	3	1	2	1	1	6	.....	.....	2	13
.....	19	3	3	15	37	4	.....	1	29	92
ported.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	6
total.....	34	17	5	40	38	12	6	3	53	174

len, F. A. (Unpublished Report), "Wages of Women in the Men's Clothing Industry of St. Louis." possession of the School of Social Economy.

The Jews predominate both as contractors and as workmen. Practically all are from Russia or Poland. The tendency for a contractor to employ his own nationality may be observed in the above table, which, however, only shows the nationality of female employees. A thorough study of these concerns should include the male employees. Such statistics for the above shops were not available, but the factory inspector's records show that the number of men approximates the number of women employed. Sixteen Jewish tailors in one district, employed 169 men and 169 women. The conditions in these shops are poor. The wages are low. Indoors, and of a sedentary nature, the work is unhealthful when compared to the more open work of the brickyards or the city departments. The presence of large numbers of women in this type of work has added significance and must be considered from a point of view other than that of business enterprise.

Individual successes achieved by men in the management of local cafés are well known to the public. It is the large number of immigrants who are in business in a small way for themselves



that are unknown. But a watchful eye over the entire length of any of the city's street car lines will convince the skeptic of the fact that in his business undertakings the immigrant presents no special problem, nor one, in the absence of fraud, with which the State, as such, is concerned.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE IMMIGRANT WOMAN AT WORK.

Such phrases as "the immigrant tide", "the stranger in our midst", are familiar to every reader of current events. They conjure up a vision of some individual Italian fruit peddler, of a sturdy Polish street repairer, or of a little Greek bootblack at the corner stand. The uninitiated are spared a memory of women with bent backs, roughened hands and doggedly weary eyes, who seldom look away from a humdrum task that day after day saps the vitality of physiques and mentalities trained in the severe but open life of the fields. Even though the ratio of immigrant men to women in St. Louis is 116 to 100, and the unmarried youths may gaze with covetous longing upon a recent pink cheeked, robust arrival from the homeland, marriage does not mean escape from the clutches of factory life. The peasant girl expects to put her shoulder to the family budget wheel, but its slow revolutions do not respond to field work, weaving or churning. Only through nine hours of monotonous toil in a factory, or by feverish expenditure of energy in the hot, stuffy tenements over home-finished articles, do the pennies seem to come in this city.

The Federal Immigration report on Manufactures and Mines places the average yearly wage of foreign-born males over eighteen years of age at \$455, and an average annual family income at \$704. The difference, \$249, is made up by the work of women and children, which fact shows the prevalence of woman and child labor among immigrant families.

In St. Louis the immigrant woman is almost certain to go into one of three lines of work, tobacco, nut picking, or sewing of ready-to-wear garments. The concentration of non-English speaking women in these three industries illustrates the displacement that apparently everywhere accompanies the introduction of foreign labor. "Displacement, or the employment of a new race because of business expansion, once begun, increases very rapidly in a locality or industry. This is due to racial prejudices, which make employment in the factory or industry seem less desirable with the change in nationalities. And so, because of the attraction of Pole for Pole, and of Greek for Greek, the displacement will probably continue in particular localities as well as in individual factories."<sup>10</sup>

This is especially true where foreign women are employed. They are willing to do disagreeable work which is distasteful to the American girl. Often the wage offered is too low for a decent standard of living according to American ideals, yet the Polish woman or the Sicilian, whose opportunities in life have

9. Reports of U. S. Immigration Commission, Vol. 19, p. 181-186.

10. Report of Massachusetts Immigration Commission, p. 8A.

been few, is eager for any sort of work and ignorant of desirable standards. The tendency of these foreigners to work by themselves is aggravated by the attitude of the native-born who willingly foster any isolation. Unable to speak English, suspicious of too friendly approach, bent only on increasing the amount in the weekly pay envelope, these women and girls toil on, all thought of advance effectively curtailed by a constant dread of losing the present job. As result, employers, consciously or unconsciously, are tempted to become lax in factory and wage conditions and to profit by immigrant ignorance.

### **Tobacco Factory:**

Most of the women in the Italian Colony on "Dago Hill" have worked in the tobacco factory on Vandeventer Avenue at some time in their lives. The principal of the Shaw School on the hill, once said, that of the several hundred Italian girls who had passed through school in the past four years, only one had stayed long enough to graduate from the eighth grade. A fourteenth birthday anniversary means a work certificate, and farewell to studies; in their place, the little Italian girl begins sorting the great tobacco leaves. An estimate made in May showed that there were 1,244 women employed in the largest tobacco factory; 694 were foreign-born of the following nationalities:

Austrian, .....	49
Bohemian, .....	20
Croatian, .....	5
Hungarian, .....	30
Italian, .....	124
Lithuanian, .....	12
Polish, .....	158
Roumanian, .....	62
Russian, .....	10
Servian, .....	6
North Europe, .....	218
<b>Total, .....</b>	<b>694</b>

Some of the younger girls work at machines, but the majority of the South Europeans strip the leaves from the stalk, or "bunch" the leaves of regulation size into rough stogies. The atmosphere of these stripping rooms which cover a tremendous area is pungent and choking to a stranger. The strippers squat on low boxes between piles of dried leaves, and their headkerchiefs, brick-red with tobacco dust, bend ceaselessly over flying fingers. Wages are paid on a piece rate basis. Exceptional workers may earn \$9 to \$10 a week, but a more average wage is \$6 to \$7.

Work begins by six in the morning and the factory shuts down early in the afternoon. Most of the women walk to and from work in order to save car fare. In winter they may be seen trudging east along Chouteau Avenue, struggling against the wind that blows up from the river front, shivering as the reaction of the cold against the damp moisture of the stripping room sets in. In summer they clump along in groups of two or

three, many bare-legged, in wooden shoes. A handkerchief always covers their heads, but the gripping sight is the drawn haggard face beneath, and the heavy figures, coarsened by the double labor of motherhood and breadwinning.

### **Nut Picking:**

Syrians, Poles, Spaniards and Italians are chiefly employed in extracting from its tenacious shell, that West End table delicacy, the shelled pecan and walnut. Nine hours a day are spent on a four-legged stool before a bin full of cracked nuts, from which the kernel must be extracted in perfect condition. An irritating dust rises continually from the broken shells and unless precautions are taken, the atmosphere of the picking room becomes unbearable. Conditions vary in different factories. The 1915 report of the Missouri Factory Inspector's Department published a photograph of women at work picking nuts in a certain mercantile concern. The picture was inserted to illustrate bad factory conditions. The ventilation was poor; Poles, Syrians and Spaniards were indiscriminately bunched with Negroes around a table, artificially lighted by swinging electric bulbs. American labor refuses to work under such surroundings, especially as the wage scale is notoriously low.

### **Clothing Industry:**

In its wage investigation, the School of Social Economy studied the clothing industry carefully, because of the large percentage of female employees. That the predominating nationalities were Russian Jews and Italians, was confirmed by detailed observation of the data obtained, and from conferences with the investigators. Little is known of the beginning of the industry in St. Louis, but in 1890 the city had thirty-three establishments given over to the manufacture of men's clothing; "with a total of 2,519 employees, 1,927 of whom were females".<sup>11</sup> St. Louis has met keen competition in the manufacture of clothing because of its proximity to Chicago and Cincinnati. "In 1912 there were 214 men's clothing establishments having an output of over eleven million dollars. At this time there were a total of 3,810 persons employed, 2,352 of whom were females." The percentage of foreign-born employees in the clothing industry in New York, Baltimore and Chicago is reckoned at 22.4 per cent.<sup>12</sup> but the ratio of foreign-born in St. Louis appears to be somewhat greater, if one may judge from 1,122 clothing workers in twenty factories. In sixteen shops, the factory inspector stated that all the employees were foreign-born. One large concern with nearly five hundred women on the pay roll, sent in a schedule which vouched for a foreign population of 52 per cent.

The clothing industry is almost entirely in the hands of the Jews and the workers are chiefly Jewish or Italian. The concentration of these two nationalities in this line of work may be

11. Aden, F. A., *op. cit.*

12. *Ibid.*

responsible to a certain extent for the higher ratio of foreign-born. The Russian and Polish Jews operate machines in the factories or sew by hand in the contract shops. Home finishing is done by the Italian women, whose husbands strongly disapprove of any line of work which takes them away from the neighborhood.

The law condemns as sweatshop production, any article made in a tenement room, "in which more than three persons, outside of the family, are at work".<sup>13</sup> Evasion of an unenforced law is, unfortunately, simple enough. In the investigation of 1914, twenty-seven women were visited in the down-town Italian district, who did home finishing of pants. "The family usually consisted of a wife, several small children and a husband who worked when employment could be secured." These families live in crowded tenement homes, each having one or two rooms, the halls, porches, etc., being used in common. The work is, in most cases, done in the kitchen, as this is the only room kept warm in winter. If a lodger is kept, his bed is also found in the kitchen."<sup>14</sup> Only a few could speak English, though most of them had been in the country over six years. Nine women, besides not understanding English, were illiterate in their own language. In all but one case, there was a husband living, who made, when at work, from \$1.00 to \$2.00 a day. For finishing pants, from 60 cents to \$1.20 per dozen is paid. All the children, who can, help in this home work, and the frequent laxity of contractors gives rise to situations decidedly illegal. Several of the large factories meet the Consumers' League standards, others are constantly on the black list of the factory inspection department, and the chances of their being made fit places for daily labor are not great until the State enlarges its present industrial budget and makes possible a force of factory inspectors who can visit frequently enough to insure adherence to standards.

#### EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES.

A survey of the occupation of the immigrant in St. Louis would not be complete without some reference to that business institution through which immigrant as well as American labor is distributed. The avowed purpose of most employment agencies to procure "jobs" and fill them irrespective of the qualifications of the individual concerned, has an especially dire effect on the immigrant who now comes to this country chiefly from the agricultural district of Eastern Europe.

"Under our system the peasant goes to the mine, the engineer to the sweatshop, and cities are crowded with seasonal workers who are not distributed to winter employment. Every Greek boy becomes a boot-black, every Scandinavian girl starts in housework, and every Jewish girl is sent to the factory. America takes little account of the immigrants' qualifications or efficiency—they all go into the cauldron of common labor. From this, many never escape and there follow maladjustments in employment, leading to labor difficulties; inadequate dis-

13. Allen, F. A., op. cit.

14. Ibid.

tribution, resulting in congestion, segregation in racial groups and colonies; restlessness and dissatisfaction ending in legal complications and litigation."<sup>15</sup>

The evil results of bad distribution have made themselves felt throughout the country and the Federal government is now trying to regulate the settlement of aliens who do not come to join friends.

In St. Louis recognition of this country-wide attempt to straighten out distributive labor difficulties has given rise to a State Labor Bureau and the recently established Federal Employment office. Unfortunately, neither of these public service bureaux receives many calls from immigrant applicants.

#### Public Agencies:

From the records of the State Employment Bureau, it was estimated that between July 1st and December 17, 1914, there were 2,358 applications for work. Of that large number, only 276 were foreign-born applicants and 165 of the 276 were Germans, Swedes, Irish and French. The remaining 111 who represented the South European countries were of the following nationalities:

Austrian, .....	10
Bohemian, .....	4
Greek, .....	7
Italian, .....	53
Polish, .....	23
Russian, .....	10
Spaniard, .....	4
Total, .....	111

#### Philanthropic Agency:

The same is true of philanthropic agencies like the Young Women's Christian Association employment office. This particular agency places only women, and the director said that the winter of 1914-15 was the first in which the number of foreign-born applicants had been sufficient to warrant recording the country of birth.

#### Private Agencies:

It is the private employment agency to which one must turn to discover the immigrant. These agencies have shrewdly recognized the opportunities for money-making latent in the inexperience of the average stranger from the old country, especially when hunger quiets suspicion. Secondly, they have appreciated the fact that the immigrant trusts implicitly a fellow country-man or one who can speak to him in his own language. Forthwith, "runners" are employed, who in a friendly manner steer the unsuspecting into the office of the agency which they represent. These men hang about the railroad station where they may catch new arrivals, and range up and down Market

<sup>15</sup> Kellor, F. "The Immigrant in America," p. 5.

Street, or in the various coffee houses and saloons where the immigrants gather.

### **Exploitation:**

Previous arrangement with the saloon keeper, who is ever in league with such men, insures a friendly round of drinks, and before long the fellow country-man's glowing account of positions available at certain agencies produces a cash pre-payment. In all faith the credulous immigrant often pays as much as \$10.00 for such positions. On occasions, they materialize, and the man is happy for a month or so, when suddenly he is dismissed for no obvious reason. He learns too late that another "easy mark" is wanted in his place. The agent desires another \$5.00 on his books. The saloon keeper fain would ring up an added dollar in his register, while the foreman at the factory and the "runner" pocket each two dollars.

Usually when a labor agent contracts to send out a gang of men for railroad or similar work, there is an interpreter who goes with the group. This man collects one dollar a month from each laborer in return for his services in interpreting the nature of the work and other necessary bits of information. If a man should be sick his wages would be divided among selected "influences" in return for holding the position. After the first experience, the immigrant takes this grafting system as a matter of course, only he makes up his mind to get into it himself as soon as possible.

The immigrant still prefers to associate with men who speak his own language and inasmuch as neither the State nor Federal Bureau in St. Louis employs men competent to understand the inherent desire of such men to discuss the "pros and cons" over a shaky marble topped table, midst sips of acrid black coffee or steins of beer, there is little patronage of State facilities, even by the few who know that such places exist. It is hard for the immigrant to understand a person who will "do something for nothing".

The disillusioned, who are especially independent, seek the factory foremen direct, and a haughty "no work" always produces the rattle of pocket silver, which, unfortunately, only too frequently has the desired effect. Such nefarious proceedings are not peculiar to St. Louis. They are but repeated facts of life found in every large city. However, the vagueness of Missouri State laws regarding the inspection of employment agencies has much to do with present abuses. Private agencies must pay both a city and state tax. This, together with an annual report, is turned over to the Bureau of Labor, which has the police power of inspection. Time and again, cases of exploitation have been carried into court by the assistant labor commissioner, only to have them lost because of some legal technicality which the state law failed to cover.

Further consideration of this whole subject but emphasizes the waste of splendid labor units which exploitation, maldistribution and unhealthy factory conditions insidiously foster

amongst the men and women of the recent immigration. Ignorance of English, antagonism of race, non-conformity to custom, force into blind alleys of industry, productive power and latent ability which would mean much in the labor market if rightly developed.

**Progress:**

That the immigrant, in spite of these handicaps, is rising in the scale of occupation, is splendid proof of his dormant possibilities. Out of 481 employers questioned in the State of Massachusetts, 404, or 84 per cent, declared that the immigrant was rising.<sup>16</sup> In St. Louis, twenty-nine out of thirty-eight employers affirmed this same progress. Fourteen considered their South European employes equally efficient in comparison with the North European or native born American. This number compares very favorably with the twenty-seven who considered them less efficient.

There is much that St. Louis and the State of Missouri might and should do to prevent such wholesale loss of human opportunity. The State Bureau of Labor should be empowered to increase the number of agencies and to employ men and women as able to reach the alien as the sharper. The Employment Agency laws should be thoroughly revised and proper machinery created for the efficient inspection of all Agencies. At the same time, the factory inspection department, which has a budget providing but four deputy inspectors for the whole city of St. Louis, should be reinforced with inspectors able to win the confidence, especially of the immigrant women, thus making impossible the present instances of sordid conditions. The industrial future, not only of the immigrant, but of the city, depends upon such steps. St. Louis can ill afford not to safeguard the life, health and opportunities of men and women best able, because of their strength, sturdy endurance and ambition, to fill the present demand for unskilled labor.

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## CHAPTER V.

### EDUCATION OF THE IMMIGRANT IN ST. LOUIS.

#### THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Americans, whether ardent restrictionists, or open door advocates, place, with one accord, chief reliance for the necessary Americanization of the Immigrant, on the public school system. Within the last few years, certain cities have found their school machinery absolutely inadequate when called upon to deal with

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16. Report Mass. Imm. Com., p. 84.

the overwhelming numbers that flocked to the schools, both day and night. In New York and Cleveland, many such schools would seem to have lost the characteristics of an American school, if one were to judge from the type of pupil. Localized colonies of foreigners in these cities have usurped the settlements of native born residents, and unless the management of schools under such conditions is alive to the exigencies of the situation, the problems of the school and of the community, as a result, become baffling.

### Illiteracy:

At the same time people loudly proclaim that the immigrant is pulling down American standards of living. While there is a certain amount of truth in these statements, this same immigrant influence, it has been found, can become the moving force in an ambitious search for higher standards if only the right touch is established and the necessity of an education, which meets the practical every-day needs of illiterate men and women is recognized. Such education means an utter discarding of ordinary methods used in teaching American scholars, and concentrates through personal knowledge, on the immigrant's life in the old country and his new world ambitions.

The census of 1910 gives the following table, illustrative of the number of illiterates in St. Louis:

TABLE XII.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERATES IN ST. LOUIS OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE—BY GENERAL NATIVITY.\*

St. Louis.	Number persons 15 years of age and over, unable to read or write any language.			Percentage of Population over 15 years unable to read or write any language.		
	1910	1900	1890	1910	1900	1890
All classes.....	21,123	20,359	20,857	3.7	4.4	5.9
N. W. N. P.....	1,112	1,348	1,351	.6	1.0	1.9
N. W. F. P.....	1,196	1,666	1,603	.6	.9	1.1
F. B. White.....	13,899	10,764	10,220	11.4	9.8	9.1
Negro.....	4,799	6,516	7,683	12.4	21.3	34.7

\* Compiled from U. S. Census, 1910, Vol. I, p. 1249.

Great significance lies in the increase of illiteracy among the foreign-born from 9.1 per cent and 9.8 per cent in 1890 and 1900 respectively, to 11.4 per cent in 1910. From earlier discussion in this report, it is plainly apparent that the immigrant arriving during recent years has come from countries where educational advantages are few. Consequently, the city's problem of educating the immigrant has greatly increased. In addition to the group of 13,899 foreigners unable to read or write any language, there was, in 1910, a group of 23,000 who could not read or write English.



Inasmuch as correct census figures for 1915 are unavailable, though there is known to be a definite increase in the number of foreign-born now resident in the city, only a rough estimate can be made of the number in need of public school training. The method of computation used by the Board of Education is that of the United States Census Bureau—"Four-tenths of the increase in the years 1900 to 1910 being added to population of 1910 to make the estimated population for 1914."<sup>1</sup> Upon this basis in 1914 there were 28,312 foreign-born people over 15 years in St. Louis unable to speak or write English. However, in estimating the problem which confronts the Board of Education allowance must be made for that proportion of the population which, though illiterate, is too old to respond to educational opportunities offered by the city, even if there were a compulsory education law similar to that in the State of Massachusetts which requires the attendance at night school of all illiterates between 16 and 21.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Public Day School:**

The actual increase in registration of foreign-born pupils in the Public Schools during the past ten years, while it has been steady, has not been serious enough to disturb unduly the equipment or the methods employed. The education of immigrant children who enter the Public Day School will not be considered in this report. The compulsory education law of the State supposedly gives such a child his opportunity before it entitles him to a work certificate at fourteen. It is safe to assume that nearly every immigrant boy or girl avails himself or herself of this privilege. Thus the only opportunity for further school work lies in attending night school in company with the adult immigrant who has never been to school before, but has been thrown at once into the industrial and social whirlpool of American standards and customs.

#### **Night School:**

Fifteen night schools were open during the winter term of 1914-15, for seventy-five nights, between October 12 and April 6. Fourteen schools had classes in English especially for foreigners. Instruction of immigrants in all of these schools was limited to English, which had to be mastered to a point where the student could enter classes of native-born Americans, before other subjects, such as mathematics, science, dressmaking, etc., were taught. These fourteen schools were well scattered over the city, within the reach of nearly every foreign community. Sessions were held three times a week, from 7 p. m., to 8:50 p. m. In several schools this early hour of convening proved very unsatisfactory. It is quite difficult for a man or woman who has worked all day, to eat supper, clean up, and reach school at such an hour. Accordingly, one school began somewhat later; others arranged the first hour with subjects such as read-

<sup>1</sup>. *Report of Board of Education, 1914-15*, p. 23.  
*Report Mass. Imm. Com.*, p. 122.

ing or penmanship, which might be picked up at any point without great loss to the tardy pupil. Such enforced tardiness cannot be good, either for the discipline of the class or the individual.

**Teachers:**

The selection of night school teachers is made by the Board of Education from the ranks of day school teachers, upon application by the teachers. The salary paid is excellent, the lowest being \$2.75 an evening, and the highest \$4.25. In addition to this financial attraction, many teachers find night school work more interesting; but even the most sympathetic and willing individual can not do both day work and night work with equal success. One or the other must suffer, and generally it is the night class. Physically tired, a teacher has not the patience necessary to explain repeatedly. If possessed of sufficient patience, the chances are that the physical effect of teaching day and night shows itself in a lack of originality in presenting the lesson. To date very little attention has been paid to the question of method in teaching foreigners. There are classes to train kindergarten teachers, to train physical directors, to train other types of teachers, but no formal training is required for that very specialized work—teaching foreigners. Recognizing the need of previous training, one principal has himself conducted a class in method at the Normal Training School in the city. All of his own teachers have availed themselves of the opportunity, and many others in the different schools, but the Board of Education does not require attendance at this course. No method is laid down to be followed exactly, but various ways of holding the beginner's attention are discussed. It must be recognized that a Polish shoemaker of forty-five, a Russian priest, and a Swedish housemaid demand different approaches; none the approach used with American children in the grades.

With the exception of one or two classes taught by the principal himself, all the English classes are taught by women. The advisability of using women teachers for immigrant men is a moot question. Many individuals advocate them because the foreign man gains his first conception of the American woman in a way that is bound to influence his attitude toward women for the rest of his life. The position of teacher is invariably one which commands respect from the foreigner, and when this is heightened by a winning personality, the influence cannot be overestimated. On the other hand, it is universally admitted that the immigrant man can best be approached by another man, by a man who can understand his needs, and enter into his barren life in a manner not possible for even the most sympathetic of women. The keen interest which every immigrant feels in American government and business is more naturally discussed by man, and the responsibility of good citizenship more fully developed.

The fact that the teachers are all women has naturally resulted in the mixing of boys and girls in the same class. While many of the principals upheld this idea as equally applicable to

foreign and to American students, there was strong objection to this arrangement from teachers of experience; especially from one principal, who was himself born in France, and thoroughly cognizant of a difference in the old country point of view. He separated his beginning classes, but put the boys and girls together in the higher grades, when American ideals had been more firmly ingrained.

#### Attendance:

The success of the night schools may, to a certain extent, be judged by a study of the attendance. The following table shows the different schools having classes for foreigners, with the total enrollment in 1914-1915, and the membership on February 14, the end of the third quarter. "No. in membership," may be explained by the custom of school authorities to drop from membership any pupil who has been absent three successive nights. "He is no longer counted in the 'membership' though still counted in the 'enrollment.' Upon returning to school the pupil is readmitted to membership, but is not an addition to the enrollment."<sup>3</sup> The enrollment covers not only the large number of pupils who registered at the beginning of the term, but those who applied subsequently throughout the year.

TABLE XIII.—ENROLLMENT AND MEMBERSHIP IN ST. LOUIS EVENING SCHOOLS, FEBRUARY 14, 1915.

Evening School.	Number of English Classes for Foreigners	Number Foreigners Enrolled.		Number Foreigners "in membership."		Total Number Enrolled.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
ington.....	1	18	13	12	3	209	74
.....	1	25	6	18	3	219	53
an Hill.....	2	85	13	56	8	315	81
anklin.....	14	925	357	238	126	1171	508
asgow.....	6	233	153	90	70	407	227
Patrick Henry...	17	1081	309	540	95	1133	424
Hodgen.....							
Jackson.....	1	36	12	22	12	338	115
Lafayette.....	5	429	80	180	26	601	152
Marshall.....	1	59	16	26	14	221	60
McKinley.....	2	160	52	46	18	160	*52
Oak Hill.....	1	50	1	11	0	208	27
3. Shaw.....	5	248	34	135	18	352	100
4. Shepard.....	2	35	15	22	9	226	59
15. Walnut Park...	1	20	4	17	4	126	18
Total.....	59	3404	1065	1413	406	5686	1950

\* Native born pupils not listed.

Report of Board of Education, 1913-14, p. 8.

TABLE XIV.—PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLMENT IN MEMBERSHIP, FEBRUARY 14, 1915, ST. LOUIS EVENING SCHOOLS.

School.	Per cent Male.	Per cent Female.
Arlington.....	66.6	23.0
Blow.....	72.0	50.0
Bryan.....	65.9	61.5
Franklin.....	30.0	35.0
Glasgow.....	38.6	45.0
Jackson.....	61.1	†100.0
Lafayette.....	41.9	32.5
Marshall.....	46.4	87.5
McKinley.....	28.7	34.6
Oak Hill.....	45.4	*.....
Patrick Henry.....	40.6	30.6
Shaw.....	54.4	52.9
Shepard.....	62.8	60.0
Walnut Park.....	85.0	100.0†

\* Only one girl was enrolled.

† These two classes with 100 per cent attendance were small classes in the beginning.

The proportion of foreigners in the total enrollment is, perhaps, surprising, but of greater significance is the decrease registered in the membership group. Allowance must be made, of course, for a falling off in attendance after the initial enrollment in the fall, but this 50 per cent loss of membership throughout the schools is too large and demands explanation. It would seem that the allotment of teachers is made on the assumption that the number of foreign born pupils will fall off, (rather than on the principle of 'hold the foreigner at every cost'). The regulation requirement for grade school teachers is used. "One assistant to each fifty pupils in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grades, and one assistant to each fifty-five pupils in the first, second, third and fourth grades of the district schools."<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, the classes number as many as sixty or seventy-five pupils the first few sessions. Extra teachers are not employed because the drop in attendance is counted as certain to reduce the classes to the required size. That the immigrant, utterly unable to understand English, is discouraged when he finds himself in so large a class, is not surprising.

#### Nationality:

A large majority of the 686 men who attended the Young Men's Christian Association English classes during the winter, had attended night school. Some had started successive seasons, but the inability of the teachers to prevent the more alert pupils from traveling far beyond the range of the more ignorant, had finally led them to consider the attempt as useless. The difference in nationality also increases the futility of large classes, because native temperaments and old country training have much to do with the student's aptitude. The following table gives

4. Report of Board of Education, 1913-14, p. 9.

the nationality of the students enrolled during 1914-15 in the night schools, by country of birth:

TABLE XV.—NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN ST. LOUIS EVENING SCHOOLS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, FEBRUARY 14, 1915.

Country of Birth.	Number.		Country of Birth.	Number.	
	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.
Albania.....	16	.....	India.....	1	.....
Armenia.....	6	.....	Italy.....	763	55
Austria.....	320	73	Japan.....	1	.....
Australia.....	.....	1	Lithuania.....	3	.....
Belgium.....	3	1	Macedonia.....	30	.....
Bohemia.....	51	20	Mexico.....	17	.....
Bosnia.....	1	1	Montenegro.....	1	.....
British Isles.....	24	7	Moravia.....	1	.....
Brazil.....	1	.....	Norway.....	3	.....
Bulgaria.....	33	2	Poland.....	82	34
China.....	5	.....	Roumania.....	42	15
Croatia.....	19	.....	Russia.....	1018	625
Denmark.....	5	2	Slavonia.....	4	.....
Dalmatia.....	3	.....	Servia.....	12	4
Egypt.....	1	.....	South America.....	4	.....
France.....	3	1	Spain.....	18	3
Galicia.....	1	.....	Sweden.....	6	.....
Germany.....	213	82	Switzerland.....	10	2
Greece.....	380	13	Syria.....	9	.....
Holland.....	1	1	Transvaal.....	1	.....
Hungary.....	144	28	Turkey.....	10	2
			Unknown.....	139	93
Total Foreign-born.....				3404	1065
Native-born.....				2282	885
Grand Total.....				5686	1950

#### Method of Instruction:

Educational authorities agree fairly well that individual attention is of prime importance in work for foreigners, because the mental equipment of the newcomer coordinates in no way with his age or experience. The Russian Jew with his puny smattering of book knowledge, hungrily snatched from beneath the watchful eye of the Russian government, may be in the class with a disconcerting, volatile Sicilian, or a stolid Pole. No two of the three will respond with greatest success to the same methods. Multiply these native differences by the number of students present, not forgetting to add in the age variations, and the resulting problem which faces the teacher is not to be discounted.

If the immigrant man is discouraged by the size of such classes, it can readily be understood that the immigrant girl will be terrified as well. Naturally shy, the woman from south-eastern Europe has been taught by old country tradition that she *must not venture far from home*. If married, home duties added

to a long day's work, exhaust any latent ambition which she may have had. Many husbands openly oppose the attendance of their wives at night school. They fear the effects of education. The younger girls start in with a will; but absolutely untrained, possessed of a mind that has never been used for any but the simplest of daily life problems, they often lack the mental discipline which will keep them at their studies in spite of physical lassitude and the discouragement which follows failure to understand classroom activities.

Speaking generally, the St. Louis schools are well located for their work at night among foreigners, though it would be highly desirable to open one or two of the grade schools which are more accessible to certain isolated groups. Their equipment, which has long made St. Louis famous in educational circles, can not fail to impress the stranger from a land where individual civic responsibility is not known. The Russian Jew especially stands spellbound before these open doors of intellectual progress. At once, his pent-up desires for education burst forth in intense loyalty to the city which offers gratis, this boon stamped as forbidden by the Russian government.

Back of these physical assets of the Board of Education is the more disturbing fact that the methods of instruction followed have not kept pace with the increase in the proportion which the foreign element presents in the night school work. However, open recognition of this fact exists, and the interest of individual principals and teachers in the matter, argues well for the future standardization of the night school work. Certain schools already show the influence of a guiding hand that has studied the needs of the immigrant, and no greater proof of the efficacy of special method in teaching foreigners would be necessary than a visit to the different schools in session.

The ingenuity of one young teacher, who said that she used no books at all with her beginners, was evident from the interest of her pupils, many of whom were big, strapping men. They were seated in the tiny desks of the first grade scholars, but despite the manifest agonies of limb, they responded eagerly to the simple picture lessons which the teacher substituted for the regulation "reader." The writer retains a vivid picture of another class where one boy lay with his head on his arm, asleep; a boy and a girl whispered in suppressed mirth, while the majority of the class of big men listened in dull apathy to the stumbling efforts of a Greek waiter to read from "Stepping Stones" Third reader concerning the trip of a camel across the Sahara Desert. Opposed to the listless atmosphere of this room, was the spirited interest of another class, in which the men told eagerly of daily experiences at work; the girls carefully planned their evening meal; and the whole class joined in singing "Home, Sweet Home," and "My Country, 'tis of Thee."

Several of these schools were also open on certain nights of the week as neighborhood centers. Talks and meetings in foreign languages were encouraged. All sorts of clubs were formed. As a result, the pride in the school became intense. Although the first winter of such meetings, much was done to establish

a better understanding of the place that the public school can take in the life of a foreign community.

Night school problems are not peculiar to the St. Louis Board of Education. Throughout the country, educators are discussing the question of immigrant education as one of national importance. Recently, the Superintendents of Public Schools in cities of over 250,000 population met in Cincinnati to discuss, among other things, the education of the adult immigrant. None of these large cities has a better equipment for dealing with the problems than St. Louis. The eighteen per cent foreign-born in the population do not present the difficulties to the St. Louis Board of Education that the thirty-five per cent do in Cleveland and Chicago, or the forty per cent in New York. Consequently, there is every reason to believe that a few changes, such as more careful selection and training of the teachers, variety and adaptation in methods employed, and the restriction in the number of pupils per teacher, will result in an educational program for foreigners coming to St. Louis, which will be of far-reaching influence.

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#### THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM.

In many instances the presence of so large a number of immigrant children in public schools is due to the fact that the public school is a free institution or that the accommodation of the neighborhood's parochial school is limited. When it is convenient the immigrant of Catholic faith often prefers to send his children to a school where the tongue of his native country is used and the celebration of familiar rites and customs will create an atmosphere as closely allied to that of the homeland as possible.

There are 77 parochial schools in St. Louis, but of this number only certain ones are bi-lingual and of importance in a consideration of immigrant education. It is quite impossible to compare these schools directly with the public schools in their education of the alien, because no attempt is made to aid the adult immigrant or to specialize the instruction for younger arrivals. However, the system of parochial school education is of vital importance in a general consideration of the subject of immigrant education. The figures alone bear witness to this fact, for in October, 1914, over 23,640 pupils were enrolled, nearly one-fourth the number in public grade schools the previous year, and over 2,679<sup>5</sup> of these children were foreign-born or of foreign parentage.

The schools fall into one of two groups; those in which instruction is given solely in English, and those in which instruction is given in two languages. Foreign-born children are found in many schools of the first type, but there are no exact figures giving the number or nationality. For this reason, and because it is more important in the preservation of racial characteristics, only the second type of school will be considered, with one

5. See Table XVI, p. 60.

further limitation—the omission of all German bi-lingual schools. Twelve of the parochial schools serve distinctly foreign parishes; four Polish; two Italian; two Bohemian; two Syrian; and one each for the Slovacks and the Croatians.

These schools are supported largely by the sacrifice which simple wage earning folk willingly make, in order that their children may feel the consecrated touch of religious guidance and, in the sweeping changes of life in a new country, not forget the mother tongue. The tuition charged varies, but the average does not amount to more than \$5.00 a year per pupil. Even so, the number of immigrant parents able to pay this small sum is limited and many of the Catholic children are found in the public schools.

#### **Teachers:**

The teaching force is composed of Sisters drawn from the various sisterhoods. They are paid \$250 a year in addition to the home furnished them by the Order. These sisters have been trained in the normal classes of their convents, but the course of instruction is very apt to reflect the attitude of the individual parish priest who counsels and advises. This is especially true in the parishes where the priest is himself of foreign birth, and it has become necessary to centralize authority in the hands of a Superintendent of Parochial Schools, who regulates the school work and seeks to include in parochial grades all the work required in corresponding grades of the public schools.

#### **Grading:**

The tuitions paid rarely cover the salaries of the teachers, and the equipment of the schools must perforce be meager. The continual entrance of children unable to speak English retards progress, so that it is impossible for the pupil to reach the higher grades before the time comes when a work permit may be obtained. Consequently there were no eighth grades in the twelve schools studied. All the children were from wage-earning families, and it was necessary for them to share the responsibility of family support just as soon as the law permitted. In commenting upon this situation, the Superintendent of the Parochial Schools said that the graded work in these schools is gradually improving. All pupils in the city are now required to pass examinations in English prepared by a central body. As the younger generation comes along, less emphasis is placed on the second language. The children do not speak it at home, and its use becomes purely religious and cultural.

#### **Attendance:**

The number of children in the twelve schools which are composed entirely of immigrant children, or children born in this country of immigrant parents, is shown in the following table:



TABLE XVI.—NUMBER STUDENTS IN TWELVE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENTS, OCTOBER, 1914.\*

Country of Birth of Parents.	Number of Schools.	Number of Students.
Polish.....	4	1110
Italian.....	2	719
Bohemian.....	2	530
Syrian.....	2	140
Croatian.....	1	134
Slovak.....	1	46
Total.....	12	2679

\* Table compiled from figures of Superintendent of Parochial Schools.

The number varies by nationality chiefly according to the strength of individual parishes and their ability to finance the school. The downtown Italian school has only a small portion of the total number of Italian children. The school on "Dago Hill" can not begin to accommodate the Catholic children in the neighborhood. The Syrian and Croatian schools cater to a smaller community, but the meager resources of their contributors prevent the schools from having up-to-date equipment, which, of necessity, limits the quality of the work.

These two thousand children are isolated in separate racial units, under the influence, often, of teachers of their own nationality. They do not experience the democratic training which comes from the gregarious public school life. While there are distinct cultural advantages in the Polish child's knowledge of his native tongue, still, as the Massachusetts Immigration Report has so aptly pointed out: "It is not in the pursuit of culture that the overwhelming majority of these children are to spend their lives. The far more practical and difficult problem of breadwinning is the aim to which, day in and day out, they will be forced to devote their unremitting attention. It is, therefore, of vital importance to them, as well as to the State, that they should be fitted in the best possible manner for this daily bread and butter struggle."<sup>6</sup> The failure of these schools to give the practical training in sewing, cooking, and other manual arts which the public schools are giving the rank and file of grade pupils, can not fail to hamper the child of the Parochial School, when he eventually seeks for himself a place in the world. Yet, the development which comes under the unselfish devotion of teachers who have given their lives to the work, and whose gentle spirit is a constant leaven in the midst of the bitter struggle for a foothold, is very apt to be one of dignity and refinement.

Those in authority frankly recognize the difficulties which surround the efforts of a poor parish to conduct a thoroughly

6. *Report Mass. Imm. Com.*, p. 150.

modern and up-to-date school, but they wisely do not seek a disproportionate budget, or to force the immigrant at once, to subordinate his dearly loved homeland interests. Rather, they allow the irresistible influence of Americanization to work steadily through the children, who want to learn English, and do things as their little American playground friends do. It is the firm belief of the Superintendent that eventually the second language will disappear, except as a cultural asset, and that each added year will enable individual schools, at present deficient in equipment or in graded work, to reach a standard similar to that of the public schools.

#### THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The St. Louis Public Library is, perhaps, more keenly interested in the foreigner per se than any other city institution. Thoroughly alive to the responsibilities which a library shares in the training of good citizens, branches located in distinctly foreign communities, such as the Divoll, Crunden and Soulard, spare no effort which brings them in contact with their immigrant neighbors. The librarians willingly confess that their most stimulating patron is the black-browed Russian Jew, or the eager Croatian, and they point with pride to the fact that the distribution of books of a serious nature is proportionately far greater in the downtown district than in the West End branches, which are supposed to cater to the more cultured tastes.

The following extracts from the 1914 reports of the librarians are significant:

"The influence of the Library among newly arrived foreigners is especially noticeable in the branches. Such readers are clannish and are apt to congregate in some one region, which is served by a branch rather than by the more distant library. The Soulard Branch thus cares for most of the Bohemians and Hungarians, the Crunden for the Yiddish and Polish readers, and so on. A special call for Spanish is reported from the Carondelet Branch. The total foreign use in the Soulard Branch rose from 8,369 in the year before last to 11,081 last year, books being circulated in 16 foreign languages as compared with 18 the year before. The Divoll Branch reports that Father Reiner of St. Louis University led two successful Sunday morning meetings in Hungarian in the auditorium of that Branch. He was forced to give up the meetings, because organizing, drilling the choir, advertising, and the preparation of talks required more time than he could give. He feels that no people are in greater need of a social center than these Hungarians, but that they lack an organizer and leader."<sup>7</sup>

"At the Crunden Branch the foreign issue is 25 per cent of the circulation. Many of the organizations using the assembly and club rooms are composed of foreigners, and the meetings aid in acquainting their members with the advantages of the library. Carondelet reports: 'Foreign books circulate in exact proportion to the number of times the supply is exchanged. The majority of our foreign readers do not prefer their native tongue to English, but do not read English freely enough to read it for pleasure. Consequently, reading is suspended until new books are added. Goethe's 'Faust' is popular, and Schiller's 'Life and Works' has been issued 23 times; but new fiction, poetry and dramas are in great demand. One unattractive and poorly printed German history of the United States has been issued ten times during the last year. This, aside from school use, would be a good record for any of our English histories.'"<sup>8</sup>

7. St. Louis Public Library, Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 43-44.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Books in 54 different languages are owned by the library, and kept, as far as possible, in the branch calling most frequently for the particular language. More books are bought as rapidly as finances permit. Of foreign periodicals the library receives the following list:

41 German, 20 French, 7 Polish, 17 Bohemian, 2 Danish, 3 Hungarian, 4 Italian, 2 Spanish, 3 Croatian, 7 Yiddish, 1 Arabic, 50 English.

### Policy:

The policy of the library is one of liberal education and the buildings have all been planned with a large auditorium and club rooms in the basement. These rooms are popular indeed. By the mere whisking away of chairs, the young people have the use of a delightful dance hall; and the active competition evidenced in signing up for the use of the rooms is surely an index of their popularity. Headlines often appear in the morning papers, similar to the following:

#### HUNGARIANS OPPOSE SHIPMENT OF ARMS.

Resolution Adopted at Neutrality Meeting will be Sent to President. Addresses in three different languages—German, Hungarian and English—were delivered at the neutrality meeting of the Hungarian societies of St. Louis in the Soulard Branch Library yesterday afternoon.<sup>9</sup>

The club rooms give the much-needed opportunity for the numerous neighborhood clubs to meet in an environment far more conducive to ideals than the corner saloon, which is so very generally the only place for congenial souls to meet in the congested districts. The library register of clubs 1913-14 shows names such as "Karl Marx Educational Club," "United Workmen's Study Club," etc. They suggest at once the response to a country and a city that makes good its pledge of freedom and opportunity to the stranger from lands of caste and creed distinctions. Many social agencies also make use of these club rooms; the Young Men's Christian Association has six English and citizenship classes in the various libraries. The Library Report for 1913-14 summarizes this phase of the work as follows:

"The various buildings contain 15 rooms that may be used for meetings. In these were held, during the past year, 3,282 gatherings of clubs, associations, etc. Organizations using the rooms at regular intervals for stated meetings number 279. It is believed that the free-  
with which the St. Louis Public Library offers facilities for neighborhood meetings is somewhat greater than is usual among public libraries. 'What you are doing,' writes Mr. John Collier, of the Peabody Institute, to the librarian of our Crunden Branch, 'is a lesson to the country.'"<sup>10</sup>

### Children's Department:

The children's department reaches the immigrant youngster with his American born brother, especially by the winter

<sup>9</sup>. *Globe Democrat*, Jan. 25, 1915.

<sup>10</sup>. *St. Louis Public Library*, Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 31.

story hour at the library. In the summer, the fairy story tellers adjourn to the playgrounds. Close co-operation with the school dovetails this playground period with the grade school life of the child. One striking point in the attitude of the library is the careful study which is made of the individual who takes out the books. In the case of immigrant children, an effort is made to watch interest as it develops in the different nationalities; so that in every way the right books may be given to guide a child who is fast discarding foreign heritage and assuming "American ways." This is certainly a sound basis for successful work, and a basis that might well be used by every other institution in the city that deals in any way with the foreigner. Note the following report of the children's librarian:

"The thirst for knowledge and the joy in reading of the Russian Jewish children are a constant surprise and delight. One boy of thirteen crawled out of bed when the family was asleep and read by the street light until his father took away his library card. Then the child decided to stay away from school and hide in the library, where he read all day, sometimes going without anything to eat from morning until the library closed at night. When reprimanded for this and asked whether he did not know that a boy could not get through this world by always doing just what he wished to do, he sighed and said, 'Well, things seem to be pointing that way.' Now that his card has been given back to him he seems more normal and is attending school regularly."<sup>11</sup>

#### **Extension Work:**

The library is not found wanting in sympathetic interest when the step from the grade schools to work and night schools is taken. In localities beyond the reach of the branch library, deposits are made in homes, in drug stores, in settlements, wherever a responsible individual is found who will issue the books. In addition, the "traveling library" has been placed in many factories where the foreigner, as well as the American born employe, can derive benefit from the noon hour distribution of good books.

A comprehensive view of the work of the St. Louis Public Library among the foreign population of the city shows that the problems of the immigrant are being constantly studied. Every effort is made to meet their needs, and their all-round development is fostered by the splendid co-operation of library officials with outside agencies working among such people. A similar attitude on the part of the various civic and private agencies in the city would soon make possible a constructive policy of assimilation that would put St. Louis in the front rank of cities attempting to deal with this new type of citizen material from south and southeastern Europe.

#### **THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.**

No better presentation of the remarkable work which the St. Louis Young Men's Christian Association is doing among the foreign born, could be given, than the following account, written by the immigration secretary, who is himself a naturalized

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11. St. Louis Public Library, Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 91.

citizen. However, in addition, it should be pointed out that the interest in the immigrant, which has so recently spread throughout the city, is in a large measure, due to the energy of this one individual, who has interpreted with sympathetic understanding, and a remarkable first-hand knowledge, the ideals and ambitions of men and women who are the city's industrial mainstay, and whose children are destined to be the city's strength or weakness in accordance with our present day attitude toward their element in the population.

"Many people are still unaware of the work which the Young Men's Christian Association is doing among the immigrants. There is no conception of the fact that it stretches a welcoming hand almost to the threshold of the immigrant's own home. At the chief European ports of embarkation there are secretaries who visit the immigrant on board vessels on their way across, with literature in many languages, instructive illustrated lectures, music and games.

"The Young Men's Christian Association has ten secretaries to welcome the future Americans on this side of the water, and help them safely to their new homes. These secretaries telegraph in many cases to inland associations, who have a representative meet the newcomers at the station and safeguard them to their relatives and friends.

"A large number of associations all over the country have a very extensive policy of work among the foreign-born in teaching English, Citizenship and Civics; giving illustrated health lectures and lectures on many other subjects. They have outdoor gatherings, educational trips to parks, city waterworks, museums and the like.

"The St. Louis Young Men's Christian Association started this work on December 1, 1913. Its object was to ascertain what opportunities there were for service. The work was begun at the Union Station to welcome the arriving immigrants and give them word of cheer on the way to their destination, and serve them in whatever way possible. The total statistics for the year ending December 1, 1914, are as follows:

"Immigrants and foreigners met, 18,863 (including 27 different nationalities). Out of this number, 16,422 were rendered definite service; 2096 of this number were helped to make their homes in this city. The Association has kept in touch with most of these men, for the time that they remained in the city, through special visits which were made by the Immigration Secretary. A number of these men have been helped to get their first start in their new "Fatherland." Others, whose friends could not be located at once, were helped to respectable boarding houses and rooms among their own people, but in most cases the Association has succeeded in locating their anxious relatives and friends.

"Educational work for these newcomers was started in a small way during the winter of 1913, as most of the time then was spent at the Union Station. Last summer when the European war broke out immigration fell off, and a special effort

was made to enlarge the scope of the work in the city. The first step in this direction was Sunday afternoon trips with groups of men to different places of interest in which the men of various groups showed a great deal of enthusiasm. More than 800 men took part in these outings, and the Association has, through these gatherings found its way into different foreign societies. These outings have really been the key to the work which was planned for this winter in teaching English and Citizenship. Thirty classes were organized during the winter of 1914-15 with an enrollment of 686 in English and Citizenship Classes. Many others applying for Citizenship were given instruction during the day, they being unable to attend the evening classes on account of night work.

"The first Citizenship class met at the Central Young Men's Christian Association on October 25, 1914, and the first English class met October 26th. Other classes were organized whenever an opportunity was found to establish classes. Two of these classes were held in rear rooms of saloons; others in foreign clubs and private houses; one in a barbershop; several in the Public Library, etc. As the work broadened, a large number of men called upon the secretary to assist them in taking out their First Citizenship Papers. This fact signifies that the immigrant is anxious to become naturalized, but is looking for some one to open the way for him. Two hundred and seventy-nine men received citizenship instruction from October 25, 1914 until April 30, 1915. More than 75 per cent of them obtained their papers and most of the others are still enrolled. The number of men calling for assistance in taking out their first papers increased during this time from nine to twenty-three a month, with a total of seventy-nine at the end of April. The reason we know so little of the interest that the average immigrant has in our American life is because he is unable to get in touch with American ideas on account of his foreign tongue.

"The largest percentage of immigrants coming to this country at present are from Southeastern Europe, and thousands of them settle in our city every year to make their homes with us. They are looking to the American people to give them an opportunity to make the most of their lives as residents of our community, and as citizens of this great country of ours.

"Many students from Eden Theological Seminary and Washington University, as well as young men from the business world, are enlisted as teachers in this work among immigrants. All of these men volunteered their services two nights a week and some have given three nights a week. They are all very enthusiastic about the progress the immigrants make, and before long these immigrants will become lost in the great American 'melting pot.'"<sup>12</sup>

12. Letter of H. ter Braak.

## CHAPTER VI.

## NATURALIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT.

The United States has laid down a very definite list of requirements which all prospective citizens are expected to fulfill; but the actual political privileges accorded an American citizen, in reality, depend far more upon the laws of the individual state than upon the laws of the nation. In Massachusetts, for instance, "a citizen can not vote unless he is able to read the Constitution of the Commonwealth in the English language."<sup>1</sup> Missouri puts up no bars; any man may vote on state questions who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen. Complete naturalization is an expensive as well as a lengthy process. The temptation which comes as a result, to obtain declaration papers with state political franchise, rather than full citizenship, is thoroughly appreciated and exploited by political schemers locally.

**Applications for Citizenship:**

The Federal Naturalization Law of 1906 raised the standards of American naturalization by limiting jurisdiction of naturalization to courts of record and by providing for careful examination of petitions for naturalization. In St. Louis there were, up to 1912, two courts where application for citizenship might be made. Since that date, the responsibility has been confined to the District Court of the United States in and for the Eastern division of the Eastern Judicial District of Missouri. Under regulations of the law of 1906, "Full citizenship is granted only to persons twenty-one years of age and over. Unless born in the United States or the minor child of naturalized parents, the prospective citizen must establish by authentic documents and competent witnesses a continuous five years' residence in the country and one year's residence in the State. Except for those making homestead entries, the law provides that 'no alien shall hereafter be naturalized or admitted as a citizen who cannot speak the English language; he must be able to sign his name in English, and he is examined for his knowledge of civics, the United States Constitution and our form of government.'"<sup>2</sup>

In the declaration, a complete personal history with details of arrival is given and the actual petition made two years later must be signed in the immigrant's own handwriting. The two witnesses must themselves be citizens who have known the applicant for a period of at least five years. The fees total five dollars. One dollar is paid at the time of filing the declaration, two dollars when filing the petition, and two dollars for the issuance of the final certificate. Following the filing of a petition, the United States is given a period of at least ninety days in which to investigate the petitioner and his witnesses. A preliminary

1. Report of Mass. Imm. Com., p. 153.

2. "Citizenship": The Immigrant in America Review, March, 1915, p. 68.

examination is then held before the chief naturalization examiner, in the Custom House; but the final hearing is in the United States District Court, the first Friday of each month being set aside for naturalization work.

TABLE XVII.—NUMBER OF DECLARATIONS OF INTENTION, 1907-1914.\*

Name of Court.	Fiscal Years.								
	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total.
U. S. Circuit.....	518	1501	1453	944	1822	548	.....	.....	6786
U. S. District.....	407	1327	990	735	1104	1194	1787	1613	9157
Total.....	925	2828	2443	1679	2926	1742	1787	1613	15943

TABLE XVIII.—NUMBER OF PETITIONS FOR NATURALIZATION, 1907-1914.\*

Name of Court.	Fiscal Years.								
	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total
U. S. District.....	44	97	189	154	343	646	987	1106	3566
U. S. Circuit.....	46	137	332	367	578	238	.....	.....	1698
Total.....	90	234	521	521	921	884	987	1106	5264

TABLE XIX.—NUMBER OF NATURALIZATIONS GRANTED.\*

1907 .....	47
1908 .....	56
1909 .....	261
1910 .....	431
1911 .....	665
1912 .....	575
1913 .....	918
1914 .....	851
Total .....	3804

\* Compiled from office data, 1907-14.

The above figures need interpretation. The decrease in the number of declarations may be laid to the appointment of an unusually keen chief examiner whose thorough work has served to weed out undesirable applicants. The increase in petitions which began in 1911 refers back to a corresponding increase in the number of declarations in 1908-9. The drop from the number of petitions filed to the number granted in most of the years is an interesting comment on the fitness of many candidates. The records of the local Federal Authorities together with the records of the Bureau at Washington make possible a complete and de-



tailed history of every alien who comes into the United States. These records are carefully investigated and the least proof of undesirability discredits the application and protects the privilege of United States citizenship.

#### **Nationality of Applicant:**

Figures showing the nationality of applicant are not available. The chief examiner stated that the greatest number asking naturalization were Germans and Austrians whose membership in brewery unions demanded that they be citizens. The Syrians are largely naturalized. The reason for this seeming paradox lies in the fact that a large part of the street cleaning force is Syrian and Italian. Being a Municipal Department, the employees do well to be voters. The Italians apply in great numbers, but fail in their educational tests. Eager to possess rights which have been denied at home, the Russian and Polish Jews pass excellent examinations. A Greek's fondness for business makes citizenship a material asset, but few have been naturalized, not over 25 in the past two or three years. They make application, but their moral records are such that they are very generally debarred.

#### **Hours of Application:**

The office of the Clerk of the United States District Court before whom the candidate must present himself, is open from nine to five on week days, and nine to one on Saturdays. The office of the chief naturalization officer is open from nine to four-thirty daily. It can readily be seen that a man making his declaration or filing his petition must take time off from his work in order to meet the above office hours. The absence of night sessions, such as have been instituted in other cities, necessitates a serious loss of time, and is also the cause of considerable expense to the would-be citizen, because he must pay for the time lost by both witnesses.

This serious inconvenience has been recognized and attempts have been made to lessen the difficulty by providing certain responsible organizations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Public Schools, which are in touch with the unnaturalized alien, with the government blanks. These may be filled out at the immigrant's convenience. The noon hour then suffices for filing. The examination and any point which entails special investigation still require the candidate's presence during his working hours.

#### **Preparation for Citizenship:**

Investigation by the Committee for Immigrants in America shows that generally throughout the United States,

*"Public authorities have failed to take any part in the immigrant's preparation for citizenship; and instruction is supplied to him by bogus, self-interested citizenship associations tending to exploit him, by political clubs for padding purposes, and by a few well-meaning individuals, private schools, philanthropic*

and public-spirited organizations. This system of loose, scattered and frequently questionable preparation for the greatest gift the nation can give, retards rather than helps assimilation, and the alien, even though a resident of the United States for many years, remains unfamiliar with our institutions and form of government and unqualified for an intelligent participation in the affairs of the country of his adoption."<sup>3</sup>

St. Louis is not an exception to this state of affairs. The Public Schools have paid scant attention to the preparation of their men for citizenship, and the principal organization which seeks to aid the foreigner in his first practical conception of government responsibility is the Young Men's Christian Association. The first classes were opened in 1913 and seventy-five men received their papers during the winter of 1914-15. Several of the men had been up for final hearing year after year only to fail again. In each case the man had been coached by other foreigners, or agencies, which sought the applicant's money.

It is to be hoped that the growing interest of the Board of Education in its work for the non-English speaking groups, will soon manifest itself in a definite shouldering of the full responsibility for citizenship preparation. In this way only can there be instilled into the immigrant the fact that true citizenship does not mean merely the ability to answer historical questions—rather that, "A naturalized alien is a good citizen when he promotes the welfare of his community, takes an active part in good politics, votes intelligently, is an honest workman, takes good care of his family, and not only obeys the laws but is deeply concerned in the enforcement and enactment of good legislation."<sup>4</sup>

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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE IMMIGRANT IN CITY INSTITUTIONS.

#### CITY JAIL.

A common complaint in recent years charges the immigrant population with increasing the burden of city and state institutions, through the failure of the foreigner to comply with the code of public morals demanded by the modern American city. Especially prevalent is the belief that criminality has been greatly increased in the past years by the influx of foreigners from Southeastern Europe. The report of the United States Immigration Commission, which deals concretely with this particular issue, tempers the argument with evidence from the public records of many cities, and in conclusion says:

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3. "Citizenship," op. cit., p. 69-70.

4. Cole, E. E. Unpublished report, "The Detroit Immigrant."

"No satisfactory evidence has yet been produced to show that immigration has resulted in an increase in criminals disproportionate to the increase in adult population. Such comparable statistics of crime and population as it has been possible to obtain indicate that the immigrants are less prone to commit crime than are the native Americans."<sup>1</sup>

The evidence gathered by the Federal investigation showed, however, that immigration had caused a change in the character of crimes committed. For instance, an increase was recorded in crimes of personal violence. Police court records showed a prevalence of this type of crime among Italians. In similar fashion, the largest number of offenses against public policy were charged against the Greek and the Russian. The Special Census Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents, 1904, emphasizes the following tendencies:

NATIONALITY	CRIME COMMITTED
German	Offence against property
Greek-Russian	Violation city ordinance
French-Russian	Offence against chastity
Irish	Disorderly conduct
Italian	Personal violence. <sup>2</sup>

In seeking to interpret these statistical deductions, it must be remembered that "any special study of the relation of immigration to crime should take into consideration, not only the number of convictions for crime, but also the nature of the crime committed, and possibly the relative likelihood of the detection of crime in different localities or among different classes of population."<sup>3</sup>

This is a difficult thing to do because police court records, even jail records, are apt to be fragmentary. The chief "adult probation" officer in St. Louis says that practically all foreign cases turned over to him are for drunkenness. These men make excellent parole subjects. Told to report, they are on hand to the minute. The old country respect for the authority of the law is deeply ingrained, and it takes untoward circumstances to cause the immigrant to over-step willingly, though his ignorance of language and customs often lead him to do so unwittingly. The St. Louis daily newspapers frequently publish articles which influence citizens to believe that the immigrant is of a wildly turbulent disposition, and greatly to be feared. It is quite generally conceded by police authorities that these statements are exaggerations. The mere appearance of the officer restores quiet, and only when the difficulties are such that the Hibernian peacemaker cannot detect the instigator, is the whole group hustled off to the station in search of interpreters. The reporter at headquarters has a daily assignment to fill, and a few dexterous touches will produce a clever story of little credit to the immigrant, but of great interest to the "Mayflower public".

1. Reports of U. S. Immigration Commission, Vol. 38, p. 7-8.

2. Census Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents, 1904, p. 42-45.

3. Jenks, "Immigration Problems," p. 63.

**Jail Records:**

Police Court arrests that are unable to pay the fine imposed are sent to the workhouse. Cases from the Circuit Court and Court of Criminal Corrections are all sent to the jail pending trial, and later discharged, paroled, sent to the workhouse or to the State and Federal penitentiaries. For this reason it is impossible to obtain statistics which would show the exact proportion of total convictions among the foreign-born. The city jail records cover the largest number of prisoners, and those held for the most serious offenses.

TABLE XX.—GENERAL NATIVITY OF PERSONS RECEIVED AT CITY JAIL, ST. LOUIS, 1911-1914\*

Nativity.	Persons Committed.				Committed 1911-14
	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	Total Number	Per cent.
Total Cases.....	2745	2610	2786	8141	100.0
Native Born.....	2403	2315	2421	7139	87.8
Foreign Born.....	342	295	365	1002	12.2

\* Compiled from annual reports of City Jailor, 1911-1914.

Granted that 25 per cent represents a conservative estimate of the foreign-born white element in the city's adult population,<sup>4</sup> the 12.2 per cent registered for foreign-born cases in the entry book of the City Jail makes an excellent showing. It must be remembered that this part of the city's population averages 116 males to 100 females, a fact, which in itself would warrant a larger percentage of jail commitments than the proportionate 25 per cent.

**Nationality:**

The Germans rank first when the item of nationality is considered. This is but coincident with their predominance in the foreign-born population. The "South Side" is noted for being the district which has the smallest proportionate number of police cases on record in a large city. The Italians stand second, the Irish third, the Russians fourth. Environment should not be forgotten in this comparison. The Italians and the Russians both live in the most congested districts of the city. Temptations lurk on every hand. Living conditions foster wrongdoing, bitterness, despondency, and the vigilance of the police force makes detection far more certain than it would be in the West End.

4. See Note 10, p. 77.

**Deportation:**

The most incriminating evidence lies in the number of convictions made under the Mann Act. One hundred and fifty aliens were deported from St. Louis during the fiscal year 1913-14. Three-fourths of these cases were public charges. The remaining fourth had been charged with various forms of immorality. The chief nationalities involved were the Russian Jew and the Greek—severe national indictments. The presence of such scoundrels in this country can not be too sincerely deplored. It argues for more careful examination at the port of entry, for continued vigilance on the part of the Federal authorities throughout the United States, and for swift and severe legal proceedings in every case.

**THE WORKHOUSE.**

The Work House records, covering a period of three years, were studied and the following table compiled:

**TABLE XXI.—NATIONALITY OF PRISONERS RECEIVED AT WORK HOUSE, DURING FISCAL YEARS 1911-14.\***

Nativity.	Police Court.		Circuit Court.		Court of Criminal Corrections.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
U. S. White.....	2163	267	598	13	630	18	3689
U. S. Colored.....	1159	273	378	30	506	62	2408
British Isles.....	227	43	36	.....	38	.....	344
Austria.....	35	10	3	.....	3	.....	51
Germany.....	90	15	21	.....	23	2	151
Greece.....	33	8	11	.....	8	.....	60
Hungary.....	20	3	3	.....	1	.....	27
Italy.....	25	13	3	.....	7	.....	48
Russia.....	17	1	4	.....	6	.....	28
Sweden.....	7	5	5	.....	4	.....	21
Mexico.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
.....	3781	638	1062	43	1226	82	6832
.....	459	98	86	0	90	2	735

annual report of Workhouse, 1911-14.

to expectations based on Federal opinion, the foreigners serving short term sentences for petty offenses are smaller than the proportion serving longer terms in the City Jail. Of the 6,832 commitments to the Workhouse during the past three years, 735, or 10.7 per cent were foreign-born, whereas the same element was represented 12.2 per cent. No information exists which might suggest a possible cause of this situation. It is only safe

to say that in both cases the per cent is below its proportionate percentage of population.

If, for the sake of statistical study, offenders from the British Isles and Germany be deducted, only 240 cases or 3.5 per cent of the total number of convictions would be left. Making a similar statistical study for the city at large, it will be found that the same group forms approximately 6.9 per cent of the city's inhabitants. Figures at least pay tribute to the Southeastern European.

The fact that only quantitative information on the subject was obtainable and that officials did not even have an opinion as to the nature of crimes among the immigrant population, embodies a severe criticism of a large city like St. Louis. That such information is of value in corrective work is evidenced by the Juvenile Court of the city which has paid careful attention to the question of national backgrounds in its constant effort to understand the problems of juvenile delinquency.

#### THE JUVENILE COURT.

Recently, the Juvenile Court reviewed its work for the five-year period of 1908-1913. One motive was the desire to ascertain whether or not the important conclusions reached by the Immigration Commission in its study of crime, that among juvenile offenders, the most lawless are children born in this country of foreign parents, would be substantiated by St. Louis evidence. The following table gives the figures upon which the report bases its issue with the Federal conclusion:

TABLE XXII.—NUMBER OF NEGLECTED AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN THE JUVENILE COURT, 1908-1914, BY GENERAL NATIVITY.\*

Case.	Delinquent.		Neglected.		Total.	
	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Num-ber.	Per cent.
American Born, White.....	3973	49.2	1773	66.1	5746	54.1
American Born, Colored.....	1719	21.3	145	5.4	1864	17.3
American Born, F. P.....	1571	19.4	461	17.2	2022	18.9
Foreign Born.....	595	7.3	128	4.7	723	6.8
Not Reported.....	203	2.8	172	6.6	375	2.9
Total.....	8061	100.0	2679	100.0	10740	100.0

\* A Review of the Work of the St. Louis Juvenile Court for the 5-year Period, 1908-1913. 1914 statistics included.

#### Delinquent Cases:

Of the total child population in St. Louis, five per cent were immigrant children under 19<sup>5</sup> in 1910. It is quite safe to assume that practically all of these young people lived in the

5. Computed from census figures. Abstract with supplement for Missouri, 1910, p. 602.

most crowded sections of the city where the surroundings offer constant opportunity for wrongdoing. Consequently, the 7.3 per cent of delinquent cases charged against the immigrant youth, though apparently in excess of the due proportion, can not be judged as severely as a similar statistical ratio among the native born element. If all cases, both the foreign-born and native-born of foreign parents, in which there have been influences of the old country at work are compared with the total number of native white cases, it will be found that the native element nearly doubles the foreign element. The Juvenile Court report bases its conclusions about the foreign-born child and the native born child of foreign parents on this fact and says: "This very clearly proves that the oft-repeated statement that the foreign element is responsible for a large part of our delinquent population, has no foundation of fact, at least so far as the children of St. Louis are concerned."<sup>6</sup>

### Neglected Children:

In October, 1913, a special study was made of neglected children in the St. Louis Juvenile Court, by the St. Louis School of Social Economy. The report discusses the cause of neglect, and points out that the homes of this type of Juvenile Court cases are "predominantly homes of native white Americans". Dismissing the 5.1 per cent of Negro neglect cases, the report says: "The cases among all foreign races were but 33.8 per cent of all, though their children were 37.3 per cent of the total number in the city. This is a striking tribute to the character of the parents of our immigrant races. Consideration of the relative standing of these classes economically and socially, will emphasize this statement. The immigrant population meets the severest competition, endures the hardest conditions, and has the least control of property, yet it is distinctly less frequently guilty of neglect than our native-born Americans living on the highest economic level."<sup>7</sup>

There has been a decrease in the total number of juvenile court cases, in spite of an increase of 3 per cent in the child population. Preventive measures begin more easily with the young, it is true, therefore Juvenile Courts should be a large factor in the prevention of future adult criminality. But it is to be hoped that the adult courts will cease to rely on the future and do more of the personal work advocated by the Juvenile Court, which demands a knowledge of social and environmental influences connected with each case.

### LEGAL AID BUREAU.

Formerly the St. Louis Bar Association maintained under its working department, a free legal aid bureau which began work in June, 1912. In September, 1915, the work of the bureau was taken over by the city with the idea of providing

<sup>6</sup> Juvenile Court Review, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Parsons, C. E., "Neglected Children," p. 89, Washington University Studies, Part II, No. 1, October 1913.

free legal service for persons financially unable to afford private counsel.

The records show a steady increase, not only in the total number of cases, but in the foreign clientele. No group of people is more apt to need legal assistance than the unsuspecting immigrant who, through ignorance, breaks a law or is duped in his interpretation of American customs by a fellow countryman who has been in America long enough to recognize the helplessness and gullibility of the average fresh arrival from the old country. Terrified at the mere mention of the police, the immigrant becomes easy prey, not only for the scheming "friend", but for shyster lawyers, of which St. Louis has a full share.

A retaining fee of twenty-five cents is charged for all cases taken, but no client is considered who can afford the services of a lawyer. In such instances, the individual is referred to a reliable law firm. Divorce cases are refused; otherwise advice is given in all types of legal difficulty. Many cases are settled out of court and the fame of the quiet office, now in the Municipal Courts Building, has spread far throughout the foreign settlement.

#### **Nationality:**

In addition to the lawyer in charge of the bureau and his assistant, there was until recently a worker who spoke Yiddish, German and some Russian. A complete investigation is made of special cases and the co-operation of other agencies obtained when occasion demands. The following table shows the number of cases by nationality:



TABLE XXIII.—NUMBER OF LEGAL AID CASES BY NATIONALITY, 1913-1914.\*

Nationality.	Num-ber.
Austrian.....	17
Bohemian.....	6
Brazilian.....	1
Bulgarian.....	4
Danish.....	3
English.....	15
French.....	6
German.....	80
Greek.....	18
Hungarian.....	47
Indian.....	1
Irish.....	41
Italian.....	25
Japanese.....	1
Jewish.....	13
Mexican.....	3
Norwegian.....	6
Polish.....	5
Roumanian.....	4
Russian.....	43
Scotch.....	10
Swedish.....	9
Swiss.....	7
Turkish†.....	1
Total Foreign-Born.....	366
U. S. White.....	1030
U. S. Colored.....	241
Grand Total.....	1637

\* Compiled from office records.

† Syrian.

## CITY SANITARIUM.

The prevalence of insanity among immigrants is another delicate subject about which there is little carefully weighed information. The 1908 report of the Commissioner of Immigration took up the matter and ordered an enumeration of in-  
 ma  
 ic and private institutions for the insane through-  
 as and its territorial possessions. This cen-  
 ter of alien insane at 25,066.<sup>8</sup> The number  
 cent of the total insane, nearly one-third.  
 3, Cleveland, and Chicago, where the con-  
 urban life force the immigrant through  
 r customary habits and standards, present in-  
 It is not difficult to understand the mental  
 ose hopes of a promised land have been  
 work, tenement degradation and ill-health,  
 n whose simple life in the open fields has

not prepared them to meet the strain of industrial confinement and monotony.

The local city sanitarium harbors the same acute problems which similar institutions do in other cities. The foreign-born furnished 26.8 per cent of the patients admitted during the three fiscal years 1911-14.

TABLE XXIV.—GENERAL NATIVITY OF PATIENTS ADMITTED TO THE CITY SANITARIUM, 1911-1914.\*

Nativity.	1911-1912.		1912-1913.		1913-1914.		Total	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Number.	Per cent.
Native Born..	265	195	267	210	204	194	1335	71.8
Foreign Born..	125	87	86	61	74	65	498	26.8
Unknown.....	3	.....	9	1	8	4	25	1.4
Total....	393	282	362	272	286	263	1858	100.0

\* Compiled from Annual Reports of City Hospital Commissioner, 1911-14.

Before commenting upon the amount of insanity among the foreign-born, the age distribution must be taken into consideration. Alienists agree that insanity appears chiefly after maturity, and statistics show that the largest number of cases occur between 25-34 years.<sup>9</sup> In St. Louis 25.3 per cent of the total population over 20 is foreign-born.<sup>10</sup> Thus a comparison may be made between the 25.3 per cent and the 26.8 per cent insane, which does not show an undue amount of insanity among the foreign-born of St. Louis.

A more intensive study of the cases on record is greatly to be desired. Until such a study has been made, little can be said about the most important phase—the causes. Haunting specters of poverty, disastrous industrial accidents, overwork, loneliness, and disappointment all have their place, and are causes, which, to a certain extent, would be avoidable if the guardianship spirit of the city were thoroughly aroused.

#### THE CITY INFIRMARY.

The statistics for the City Infirmary (Poor House) are the most suggestive of all the records of city institutions in their relation to the Immigrant problems.

In 1911, just one-half the inmates were of foreign birth. By 1914 the percentage had increased to 57.7 per cent. If case histories could be gone over, the light thrown on the life struggles of many of these people would be a severe indictment of the opportunities for education and advancement so generally advocated by the American patriot.

9. Special Report of the Census Office, Insane and Feeble-minded, p. 30.

10. Figure computed from U. S. Census. Abstract with supplement for Missouri, 1910, p. 602.

TABLE XXV.—GENERAL NATIVITY OF PERSONS ADMITTED TO CITY INFIRMARY, 1911-1914.\*

Nativity.	1911-1912		1912-1913		1913-1914	
	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Native Born.....	275	49.2	427	51.7	208	42.3
Foreign Born.....	284	50.8	399	48.3	284	57.7
Total.....	559	100.0	826	100.0	492	100.0

\* Compiled from Annual Reports of City Hospital Commissioner, 1911-14.

**Nationality:**

By far the greatest number of these paupers are Germans and Irish. Out of the 284 in 1913-14, but twenty were from Southern Europe. Superficially, this fact appears encouraging, but it must at once be recognized that a majority of the immigrants from Southern Europe are still in their prime. Twenty years from now, the story will not be the same, if some readjustment does not come in the economic world. Those who can may go back to the old country for their last days. Others will be cared for by their children, but that the gray days of institutional life will perforce be the lot of a large number of the city's foreign-born population in old age, is a tragic fact which carries with it no valid criticism of the immigrant. Rather, a plea goes forth for guidance in the emergencies of a new life which a city's indifference has forced him to meet alone up to the present time. Had sympathetic advice, or temporary aid been available in many of the Poor House cases, a home, instead of a numbered cot in a ward dormitory, might have comforted the last years of these weary old people.

**CITY HOSPITAL.**

The City Hospital is the sole municipal institution which does not compile a record of nationalities admitted. This information is available for one who has time to go through separate case records for the 15,000 patients annually treated, but the item of nationality is of so little importance, in connection with the medical information which is obtainable from the hospital, that the official statisticians spend no time on the matter of birth place.

One would not expect to find many immigrants here. Diseased aliens are, supposedly, turned back at the point of entry, and the vast majority of those admitted are of the Irish race. Their wholesome, outdoor life in the country districts has blessed them with rugged health. The place which takes the individual away from the comforts of the home circle is dreaded by the for-

eigners. Ignorant of modern medical whys and wherefores; connecting a hospital with pain and death; nothing but dire extremity will induce them in the first years to seek institutional medical treatment.

Still the City Hospital records are replete with foreign names. A careful enumeration of all cases admitted during January and February, 1914, gave the following list:

TABLE XXVI.—NATIONALITY OF CITY HOSPITAL CASES BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, JANUARY 1, 1914-FEBRUARY 27, 1914.\*

Country of Birth.	Male.	Female.
Albania.....	1	.....
Austria.....	46	8
Belgium.....	1	.....
Bohemia.....	5	.....
Bosnia.....	1	.....
Bulgaria.....	2	.....
British Isles.....	131	35
Croatia.....	.....	1
France.....	2	.....
Germany.....	90	28
Greece.....	18	2
Holland.....	2	1
Honduras.....	2	.....
Hungary.....	21	15
Italy.....	20	4
Korea.....	1	.....
Mexico.....	6	.....
Norway.....	2	.....
Poland.....	4	1
Roumania.....	4	1
Russia.....	30	12
Servia.....	3	.....
Spain.....	4	.....
Sweden.....	10	1
Switzerland.....	11	3
Syria.....	1	.....
Turkey.....	3	.....
Total Foreign-born.....	420	112
Total number.....	532—18.2 per cent of all admissions.	

\* Compiled from Office data, 1914.

While two months cannot be taken as an accurate basis of computation, the figures for this period are illustrative and of interest. On first thought the fact that 18.2 per cent of all admissions were of foreigners appears to coincide exactly with the foreigner's place in the local population, according to the statistics of 1910. But if the percentage is corrected for South Europeans by discarding all cases from British Isles, Germany, Switzerland, the ratio will be found too high considering the relative age and native vigor of the recent immigrant. On the

other hand, 18.2 per cent is a low ratio because the foreign-born residents should form a larger part of the City Hospital's clientele proportionately because of their low wage average than any other group, with the possible exception of the Negroes. Much work for the foreigner is done by the private clinics in the city, but bedside care is given only when the personal interest of some influential individual has paved the way.

These figures were valuable only because they challenged the question, "Why so many?" and stimulated a study of the contributing causes recorded in each case. The case diagnosis revealed striking evidence as to the causes. Over a quarter of the cases were registered under the heading "Accidents, Injuries, Wounds". It did not take further perusal of case histories to know that these men and women were the daily laborers in the city's industrial life, where the danger of accident was ever present. Another large group was found under the head of "Respiratory Diseases". "Pneumonia, Bronchitis and Tuberculosis", were recorded as faithful companions of undue exposure or insufficient nourishment. Practically all alcoholic cases were found among the German or Irish, though there were a few Russians.

Again and again, the interne writing up the case mentioned the difficulty that he had in understanding his patient. Ignorance of English undoubtedly caused many of the accidents. It then complicated the medical treatment and remained to hinder the man or woman leaving the hospital in search of another job.

Such evidence, even from limited data has far more social than medical significance and voices anew the need for readjustment in the city's assimilative machinery.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE IMMIGRANT AND RELIEF AGENCIES.

Before an adequate idea can be obtained of the burden which the immigrant imposes on our relief societies, the work of the three chief charitable agencies must be considered, because the establishment of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in St. Louis long before organized charity methods were recognized, has been an influential factor in the religious distinctions which now control, to a large extent, the administration of relief.

#### THE PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION.

While the technical clearing house for relief cases is the non-sectarian St. Louis Provident Association, Catholic cases

are referred for anything but emergency treatment, to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and Jewish cases to the United Jewish Educational and Charitable Association.

The work of the Provident Association has been thoroughly discussed in the volume of the Federal Immigration Commission, which dealt with "Immigrants as Charity Seekers". That report covered all cases assisted for a period of six months during 1908-1909. The statistics for exactly the same length of time have been computed for 1914-1915, and the following table shows a comparison between the number of applicants by year and by general nativity:

TABLE XXVII.—NUMBER OF CASES ASSISTED BY THE PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION BY GENERAL NATIVITY, DURING TWO PERIODS OF SIX MONTHS.\*

Nativity.	Number of Cases.		Per cent of Total.	
	Dec.-May 31 1908-1909*	Dec.-May 31 1914-1915†	1908-9	1914-5
White Native.....	1093	3293	65.0	41.9
White Nativity Unknown.....†	.....†	724	.....	9.4
Colored.....	381	2476	22.6	31.5
Foreign Born.....	209	1355	12.4	17.2
Total.....	1683	7848	100.0	100.0

\* Report of U. S. Immigration Commission, Vol. 34, p. 218.

† Unknown. Not listed in Census Table.

‡ Compiled from office data, December, 1914-May 31, 1915.

The increase from 209 to 1,355 cases of foreign-born applicants for relief is, of course, surprising. The approximate increase in the city's foreign-born population during the intervening years was 2 per cent. This is not a sufficient increase to account for the 4.8 per cent increase registered in the above schedule. It must be remembered that December of 1914 and January and February of 1915 witnessed the most serious industrial depression that the country has experienced in many years. The immigrant who furnished the largest portion of unskilled labor and filled the lowest wage groups was the first to feel the effect of the headlong tumble in the stock market, which followed shortly after the outbreak of the European war. Extreme cold added to the local suffering and many people native born as well as foreign born, who had never asked for help, were forced to depend upon the resources of the Provident Association.

A close study of the monthly report shows that foreign applicants came principally between December and February. By March road work had opened up and large numbers of Italians and Poles were given employment.

Reference must be made to nationality before further conclusions of importance may be reached.

TABLE XXVIII.—NATIONALITY OF FOREIGN-BORN APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AT THE PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION DURING TWO PERIODS OF SIX MONTHS.

Nationality.	Number of Cases.	
	1908-1909.*	1914-1915.†
Austrian.....		12
Bohemian.....	1	13
Canadian.....	3	1
Cuban.....		1
Croatian.....		5
Dutch.....	1	
Danish.....	1	1
English.....	20	29
French.....	3	25
German.....	117	456
Greek.....		8
Hungarian.....	1	17
Irish.....	20	112
Italian.....	8	403
Lithuanian.....		3
Mexican.....		6
Norwegian.....	1	4
Polish.....	11	201
Roumanian.....		2
Russian.....		8
Scotch.....	4	17
Slovak.....	2	5
Spanish.....	1	9
Swedish.....	9	8
Swiss.....		5
Syrian.....		7
Welsh.....	1	
Hebrew.....	5	17
Total.....	209	1355

\* Report of U. S. Immigration Commission, Vol. 34, p. 219.

† Compiled same as Table 27.

Straightway, one notices the presence of seven nationalities—Austrians, Cubans, Croatians, Greeks, Lithuanian, Mexican, Roumanian, Russian and Syrian, which were absent in the statistics for 1909. While this does not mean that there were no applicants of the above nationalities prior to 1915, it does illustrate, when emphasized by the increase in Italians, from 8 to 403, and in Poles, from 11 to 201, the significant trend in the tide of immigration. The Germans still hold first place, as in the city institutions, but the Irish yield second place to the Italians.

#### The Italians:

There has been a steady growth in the city's Italian population, but even this fact and the proximity of the Provident Headquarters to the Italian neighborhood, do not furnish sufficient

explanation of the 403 cases. A far more influential factor was the industrial depression and the shut-down of many industrial establishments during the winter months, which threw the Italians out of work. In the second place, the St. Vincent de Paul Society was unable to handle all of the cases referred to it for assistance. Cases not indorsed by the parish priest were refused. In other words, the applicant had to be in regular attendance at church and personally known to the priest. Unfortunately, all Italians are not good churchmen any more than are all Americans. Consequently, a large number of cases were forced back upon the Provident Association. The distress during the cold months in the Italian quarter was so intense, that several of the more prosperous Italian business men thought to organize an Independent Relief Society, which could aid the large number of Italians who were not Catholic. Ignorant of what such an undertaking involved, the first day proved nearly disastrous, for the frequency and nature of the applications for relief used up about one-fourth of the total treasury. At this point, the assistance of the Provident Association was importuned and a worker who spoke Italian was sent over to investigate applicants, and to interview future cases. The number of Italian applicants at the Provident Association decreased very rapidly after March, when industrial conditions improved and outdoor work became possible.

#### **The Poles:**

The Poles suffered in much the same way as the Italians, but joined in no concerted movement to help their fellow countrymen, except in cases where the men belonged to one of the several Polish Societies. The number of new Polish applicants fell from sixty-three to seventeen between February and March.

#### **Causes of Application:**

Such facts serve as local corroboration of the Federal Commission's earlier conclusion, that the immigrant is not a charity seeker except under extreme circumstances. By far the most important apparent causes are unemployment and old age. Lack of work is found to mean destitution among the recently arrived immigrants, because they have not been in this country long enough to earn more than a laboring wage, and generally the increase of family responsibility eats into any savings which may have been accumulated.

As a whole, the record of the immigrant as an applicant at the Provident Association, is excellent. His environment is of the most demoralizing, his labor poorly paid; but unlike many native born Americans under similar conditions, he is traveling up-hill along a road that leads to improvement. His instinct is to help himself, and to be loyal to a friend in trouble. As a result, it is only by chance that the non-English speaking immigrant is brought by a police officer or a social worker into contact with the relief machinery of an organization like the Provident Association. Those that come of their own accord have usually been



resident in the city for some time or have been told by friends of the existence of the agency.

#### ST. VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY.

The Catholics in St. Louis seek to care for the "sick, destitute or otherwise afflicted" unfortunates within the parish, through the medium of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The establishment of the work of this famous society in America was due to the efforts of Bryan Mullanphy and Theophile Papin, two prominent Catholics, who, as early as 1840, became interested in the work of the original society while students in Paris. Inspired by the founder, Frederic Ozanam, a professor at the Sorbonne, these young men returned to St. Louis, firmly resolved to spread the work of the new order, "to visit the poor in their dwellings, to study their needs, supply their material wants, to aid them to become self-supporting, to afford them religious consolations, remembering these words of our Master, 'Not by bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God'."<sup>1</sup>

#### Administration of Relief:

Organized in 1845 at the Cathedral, the Society has since grown steadily. The annual report of the Society for 1912-1913 shows that sixty-four out of eighty-nine parishes in the city have a branch of the Society. Inasmuch as a majority of the immigrants from Southern and Southeastern Europe are Catholics, great responsibility rests with the church for their care in times of stress. Eight of the sixty-four conferences in St. Louis are in parishes which are distinctly foreign in their make-up, one Bohemian, three Italian and four Polish.

Each conference supposedly cares for all relief cases within the parish. Membership in the conference, however, is voluntary, and open only to men, who, for the most part, by their own personal contributions cover all expenses incurred. The parish priest, as the spiritual head of the conference, guides and directs such relief work. The annual reports specify the amount of material relief given out in the course of a year, but it is not fair to judge the nature of the relief work done by these formal business figures. No mention is made of the visiting done, the advice given or the employment found, which forms so important a phase of each member's work. Even the statistics of the eight parishes do not give a complete summary of the relief work done for families of foreign birth, because no record is kept of nationality, and many other parishes carry foreign cases. For this reason, as in other sections of the report, reference is made only to those conferences which work among given nationalities. The following table shows the membership in the foreign conferences, the budget of each conference and the number of cases relieved:

1. Sixty-eighth Annual Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society for the Circumscription of St. Louis, p. 71.

**TABLE XXIX.—MEMBERSHIP OF FOREIGN CONFERENCES OF THE ST. VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY, WITH RELIEF WORK DONE, NOVEMBER, 1912–NOVEMBER, 1913.\***

Conference.	Active Membership.	No. Families Relieved.	Persons Relieved.	Visiting the Poor.	Approx. Conference Population.
Bohemian...	11	48	122	2	2,000
Italian.....	36	59	241	14	8,000
Polish.....	92	46	215	51	13,000
Total...	139	153	578	67	23,000

\* 68th Annual Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, p. 32.

### Membership:

While the membership is an index to the amount of work done, its greatest significance comes when taken in relation to the size of the individual parish. The Bohemian conference is the only one in that very thickly populated foreign district south of Chouteau and east of Eighteenth Street. As a result, during the winter of 1914-15 it was called on repeatedly to meet destitute cases arising in the Croatian, the Slavic and Syrian parishes, which are in the same neighborhood. The Italian membership represents the downtown community only, and that it was impossible for these few men to cope with the situation is evidenced by the efforts of individual Italians to organize relief work, and the continual calls upon the Provident Association. The Poles are more compactly organized. There are several strong national societies, independent of the church, which are somewhat in the nature of a lodge, with sick and death benefits. The calls from this group upon other agencies have been fewer.

All relief given in these parishes is provided and distributed by men, many of whom can hardly speak English. The bond of nationality, backed by spiritual zeal, gives strength indeed, and the sense of responsibility for friends of the home land, who are "down on their luck", can not fail to develop character. On the other hand, the "foreign" parishes are in the most congested districts, where the cases of destitution are most frequent and most severe, and the limited number of men who are financially able to aid, can not but present a difficult problem. No women belong to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and while this does not mean that no women come in contact with needy cases, it is a significant fact that the first visiting, the outlining of the policy and the follow-up work generally, is entirely in the hands of men.

What standardization of work there is comes through the "upper council", which is composed of representatives from the various conferences. The president of each individual conference, while he is virtually selected by the members of the conference, must be approved and finally appointed by the president of the entire society. Recently, the choice of a Polish conference happened to be a young man of twenty-four. The

president of the Upper Council sent for him, and expressed great surprise at the youth of the candidate. It transpired that the reason for the choice lay in the knowledge of English which the young man had. All the older men had poor command of English, or were unable to speak it at all. They felt that the president should be a person able to handle English as fluently as Polish.

This earnest spirit among Catholics of foreign birth is highly commendable and the basic principles of Ozanam contain tremendous forces of rehabilitation. However, principles alone can not overcome obstacles inevitably created when an attempt is made to do efficient relief work with a limited staff of untrained workers crippled at the outset by finances which even the most generous of hearts could not possibly expand to meet the needs of community destitution.

#### UNITED JEWISH EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION.

By far the most complete and effective piece of social work being done for the immigrant in St. Louis radiates from the Jewish Alliance on Ninth and Carr Streets. Of course, the direct benefit is derived only by the Jewish immigrant; but, indirectly, as a community asset and as an example of a consistently constructed program for immigrant betterment, its value can not be over estimated. Situated on the extreme eastern edge of Jewish district, in a neighborhood that is fast becoming Italian, the Alliance is a center which makes possible sympathetic treatment of every possible problem of the Jewish immigrant. Moreover, the responsibility of being a neighborhood center is not shirked, now that the vicinity is becoming Italian. The Dispensary makes no distinctions whatsoever in its treatment of patients. Many of the Italian fruit peddlers deposit a weekly sum in the Penny Savings Bank, started originally for the Jewish children, and there are quite a number of Italian children in the clubs and classes. This share of community responsibility is backed by a spirit of co-operation with other social agencies which has made the Jewish Alliance a model among the charitable organizations in the city.

#### Relief Work:

All applicants for relief are personally interviewed by the secretary of the Association. In the past year, 1913-1914, 369 cases were handled. Of this number only three were born in the United States. The nativity of these cases is interesting, because it shows a wide divergence in country of birth:

NATIVITY	CASES
France .....	1
Russia .....	278
Austria-Hungary .....	24
England .....	6
United States .....	3
Roumania, .....	14
Germany, .....	11
Undetermined .....	32

The length of residence in the United States and in St. Louis is, perhaps, the most significant statistical information which the annual report of the Jewish Charitable Association gives.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN ST. LOUIS.  
1913-1914

	CASES
Under 1 year .....	43
1 to 3 years .....	31
3 to 5 years .....	22
5 to 10 years .....	63
10 years and over .....	71
*Undetermined .....	139

\* The large number indicated as undetermined result from a change in statistical method made during the year.

These figures bring out certain important principles which are generally being recognized as fundamental factors in immigration problems. The forty-three cases which are recorded as resident in St. Louis less than a year may be accounted for by the fact that relief cases among fresh arrivals in the United States, or in a given locality, average higher than the number in the second or later years. Adjustment difficulties are very apt to necessitate assistance from some charitable or city agency until sufficient time has elapsed for the newcomer to gain a successful footing. Among Jewish immigrants, the activity of the Industrial Removal Office, which seeks to distribute the Jewish immigrants over the country where industrial opportunities are ripe, increases the number in a city like St. Louis, where there is a branch. Most of these cases are recorded in the relief group where they bring up the total for the first year.

In the five to ten year group are cases of those immigrants who come to this country as young people, but whose added family responsibilities have come faster than financial prosperity. In times of stress, they are forced to turn to outside assistance. In the group that have been in this country ten years and over are the pitiable cases of friendless and destitute old age. Worn out, with few friends, there is no place for these old people, except the poor house. The Jewish Old People's Home, which meets the need of just such cases, is bright and cheery. There are daily visitors and the personal interest of these visitors brings happiness and contentment into the last days of people, who, have given their best, their all, to the industrial life of the country.

The causes leading to application for relief illustrate the above principles by emphasizing the grim circle of economic misfortune which so often begins with illness.

CAUSES LEADING TO APPLICATION	
Sickness .....	187
Old Age .....	15
Tuberculosis .....	19
Insufficient Income .....	92
Desertion .....	28
Undetermined .....	5
Transportation .....	16
Special .....	7

**Group Work:**

Relief is but one phase of the work of the Alliance. There has been an attendance of over 90,000 a year in the clubs and classes. Six hundred children were enrolled in the Sabbath School in 1914-1915, and the Penny Savings Bank had eight hundred depositors. There is a nurse who visits among the three hundred families which the Alliance reaches directly. Three evenings a week, a lawyer holds a legal aid hour, when his knowledge of Yiddish and of the people makes it possible to settle out of court many of the trivial disputes that arise where people live in such close quarters and under such trying conditions. There is an employment agency and a kindergarten, and definite watch is kept over Juvenile Court probationers.

The special work of the Jewish women, largely of American birth, done in the Miriam lodge, is another very important branch. A description of this work may be taken from one of their own reports:

"The ladies are giving their time and attention to the investigation of the conditions bearing upon the immigrants upon their arrival at this city. These strangers are visited by some member of the Lodge. The men are urged to attend night school, learn the English language and take out citizenship papers."<sup>3</sup>

In St. Louis, the Jewish immigrant girls are visited regularly, and in order to take care of those who are absolutely alone in the city, a big mansion on Locust Street has been purchased and turned into a boarding house. The atmosphere of this home makes a deep impression on a visitor, and in a recent investigation of homes for working girls, it was described as follows:

"The Jewish Home has been organized especially to meet the need of Jewish immigrants. The payment of board is 40 per cent of the total week's wage. This unique method, while not wise for widespread application, does admirably in this particular instance. Often out of work, carefare to be paid both ways, the immigrant girl is in need of just such a home. The girls were at supper when the writer called, and the expressive bursts of laughter and general gaiety which prevailed, bespoke a happy environment."<sup>4</sup>

Every phase of social work is covered by the program of Jewish charities. Educational opportunities are made practical and the whole is held together by a harmonious feeling of brotherly responsibility, which brings into close communication the wealthiest of native St. Louis Jews, with the most recent arrival from Ellis Island. It is not surprising that many of our most prominent Jewish business and professional men trace their success directly to the influence of the Alliance. Today, their appreciation is shown in a steadfast allegiance to the Alliance, which makes possible the same progress for other men and women.

3. Eleventh Annual Report of the Jewish Charitable and Educational Union, St. Louis, 1912, p. 47.

4. Crawford, R. Unpublished report on "Cost of Living of the Girl Adrift."

## CHAPTER IX.

THE WORK OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL AGENCIES  
WITH IMMIGRANTS.**The Immigrant and the Church:**

Immigrants from Southern and Southeastern Europe, though they do not come in deliberate search of religious freedom as did the Bohemians of the early sixties, have, nevertheless, been strongly influenced by their religious experience in the old country. Thus the desire for religious consolation in a country where there is no state religion to dictate is certain to reflect past experience, when the individual is called upon to develop his own spiritual life. In St. Louis, this human need seems to have expressed itself in three ways. The greatest number of immigrants are from Roman Catholic countries and they connect themselves at once with their church in St. Louis. Dissenting sects establish tiny churches of their own particular form of worship. A third group swings away entirely from the inspiration of religious guidance.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The work of the Catholic Church among foreign-born residents of the city is extensive. Thirty-four of the eighty-nine parishes use two languages. Of this number, twenty are German parishes, where English is gradually replacing the earlier use of German in the church. Fourteen churches, however, serve congregations of the following distinct nationalities:

NATIONALITY	
Bohemian .....	2
Croatian .....	1
Greek .....	1
Italian .....	3
Polish .....	4
Slovak .....	1
Syrian .....	2

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Bewildered by the demands of life in a strange city, the counsel of a priest who understands old country ideals should mean much to the immigrant. The service in one's native language, the celebration of familiar rites, and a gathering of friends from the home land make the church home one which binds the old life to the new. In the eyes of the old people, the church grows dearer because it is the best medium through which the children born in this country can fathom the spirit of their foreign ancestry. The possibility of this influence is, of course, *greatly enhanced* by the parochial school system which obviously

strengthens the work of the church proper through its control of the children. As a result the parish life of these various communities is singularly isolated and unless the individual priest takes the lead, there is very little touch, even with the wider circle of Catholic interests in the city at large. Some of the priests speak English with difficulty. Most of them were educated abroad.

These facts explain the recent interest taken by prominent Catholics in the proposed organization of work specifically for these groups of foreigners. Surveys were made by the "Central-Blatt and Social Justice" which materially aided in the establishment of a settlement on the South side and aroused much interest in the Italian settlement on "Dago Hill". In speaking of "Dago Hill" the Survey reported: "There is a Catholic Church, in charge of an Italian priest, on the hill near the center of this settlement. The church will hold about 500 people, so that at three masses on Sunday only one-fifth of the Italians in the district could be present. . . . The Jesuits from St. Louis University conduct the catechism classes on Sunday afternoon. . . . About 400 children attend these classes, though this is not all by far that are in the settlement and who should be in attendance."<sup>1</sup>

This same report makes the following significant remark concerning the priest: "We can not count too much on him, however, not because of any unwillingness on his part, but because he has no conception of how to proceed in organized work."<sup>2</sup>

It is to be regretted that these foreign parishes remain so isolated and that the fear of losing control over the community, hinders the introduction of American ways of doing things and American forms of church organization. The result can not be other than a weakening of the hold on the second generation. There should be a growing realization of this fact and an earnest determination on the part of the stronger parishes to aid and develop the younger churches which as yet have come into little contact with the all-inclusive program of American Catholicism.

#### INDEPENDENT CHURCHES.

Beginning with the Bohemian followers of John Huss, who, more than fifty years ago, founded a society which they called "the Free Thinkers", there have always been groups of unaffiliated religionists in different sections of St. Louis. The recent immigration has brought men from the near East and introduced various forms of worship known to the Oriental Church. Not far distant from each other in St. Louis are churches indicative of religious and political schisms, such as the Polish National Catholic, the Servian Orthodox, the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran and the Russian Orthodox Church. These churches have been established in the past few years to minister to the growing

1. Central-Blatt and Social Justice, August, 1915, p. 126.

2. Ibid., p. 126.

colonies from Russia, Poland, Balkan States and Greece. Little information concerning their work is obtainable, for the pastors speak little English. They represent a desire for racial and religious segregation that would, if more extensive, present serious elements of anti-Americanization and should be the subject of a more detailed investigation than the present report was able to undertake.

#### THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

On the Protestant Church rests the chief responsibility of reaching the third group, composed largely of immigrants, who:

"In the light of American civilization and public thought, find the religion of their fathers discredited. It appears to them antiquated and unworthy. They throw it over unreservedly, and with it goes their whole body of admirable moral precepts and guides and the remarkable ethical standards which have been indissolubly associated with religious beliefs in their minds. The unfortunate part of the process is that nothing takes the place either of the religious faith, or of the moral code."<sup>2</sup>

A realization of this responsibility has come only in recent years. Even yet in certain sections of the United States there exists a propensity to ignore the foreign missionary problems which present themselves in the home field. Unfortunately, St. Louis can not be cleared of this charge. Among local denominations, the Presbyterians alone have a constructive program for work among the foreign-born in the city.

#### Boyle Center:

Under the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, a settlement is operated in the downtown Italian district, called Boyle Center. The work of this mission has been thoroughly reorganized during the winter of 1914-15, under the direction of a new head worker. When the Children's Hospital and Washington University Hospital moved into the western part of the city, clinics were opened at Boyle Center, and a baby welfare nurse was stationed there. Under her supervision, a feeding clinic and a summer milk station are now being operated. The clubs and classes of the settlement are largely attended by children of Italian parentage. Forty per cent of the babies in the day nurseries have Italian mothers, many of whom can speak no English. This difficulty is being met by English classes conducted for the women by a volunteer worker and for the men of the neighborhood by the regular full-time Italian worker. The fact that the teacher is himself an Italian, has made his classes very popular, and some excellent citizenship work has been done during the past winter months. This same worker conducts Sunday services and an adult Bible class in Italian. The work among Italians grows slowly because of their suspicious natures, but the ever-increasing number of requests for letters to be written or interpreted, the welcome with which the visitors are greeted and the constant stream of people through

<sup>2</sup>. Fairchild, op. cit., p. 295.



the building, show that the influence of Boyle Center is being felt and appreciated.

### **Markham Memorial:**

A center of wide influence among the Slavic groups in St. Louis is Markham Memorial, a Presbyterian Church, on Menard and Julia Streets, in the vicinity known as "Bohemian Hill". A large part of this church's work has been among Bohemians, and until August, 1914, a Bohemian worker was employed who visited among the Bohemian families and organized clubs and classes throughout the colony. However, all educational work was discontinued in the fall of 1914 because of financial stringency. The chief emphasis at present is on the religious work carried on through Sunday services and Sabbath School, and on home visiting done in some of the smaller foreign colonies.

The Bohemians are rapidly moving away from "Bohemian Hill", and their places are being filled by the immigrants from the various Balkan States. Every effort is made by Markham workers to guide these recent comers in their first steps towards Americanization, and in the necessary adjustment to the ways of city life. Chief among these workers is a Bulgarian woman of strong personality. She visits in the home, gives English lessons at her own house, and, through her restaurant talks, reaches that large group of Bulgarian men, who, without the restraining influences of home responsibilities, lead such wayward lives. These men, who congregate daily in their coffee houses, have been so impressed by this woman's message of an abundant life, that she has become, at their special request, a weekly speaker. She also visits the sick in the city hospital, interprets for them, and watches over the families left at home. A very much-needed worker is the Albanian colporteur, who goes from one lodging house to the next along the river front, talking with the groups of single men from the Balkan States. He often opens the way for closer touch with the Hungarian pastor who does general parish work and conducts the church services on Sunday. Some little work has been done by a Syrian volunteer who, in the past winter, has taught English and held preaching services among the Syrians on Papin Street. This vast amount of personal work is directed by a general executive, who also exercises a guiding hand in the activities of two other branches of the Presbyterian work.

### **Third Street Mission:**

Third Street Mission is a tenement remodeled for settlement purposes, which is used by workers from Markham Memorial for services in Slavic languages. Its location on Third Street places it in the midst of Russians, Croatians, Hungarians and Poles, and the children in the under-age kindergarten are all from immigrant homes. The rooms are available for club meetings, and are used to some extent by people of the neighborhood. A limited financial support and the scarcity of volunteer workers who will give their time, greatly hampers a work which demands patience and consecrated courage.

**Victor Street Mission:**

This is a tiny church on Victor Street, the mission of the German Presbyterian Church. For this reason the services are in German and in English, and the visitor is a German-American. The natural result has been that, although the church is in a Polish colony, very few Poles are reached and the church membership is largely German-American. As yet there are no clubs and classes, only an under-age kindergarten, during the week days. It is to be hoped that, when the plans for an institutional addition to the church are completed, an effort will be made to reach the Polish and Roumanian element in the neighborhood.

**General Protestant Work:**

Beyond the Presbyterian work, very little effort is made by Protestant denominations to reach the foreigner. Most of the churches which are in foreign neighborhoods reach only the second generation. Their work is in English and often of the rescue mission type, which, it must be recognized at once, does not employ methods attractive to the immigrant. Appeals designed to reach the degenerate and fallen Americans will not attract the immigrant, even if he lives in the same house under seemingly worse conditions. The immigrant is working up and his pride and ambition resent an approach which implies degeneration, a fact which many churches fail to recognize.

The Church Federation made a study of the field of work among foreigners in St. Louis in 1913, and gives the following summary of other denominational activities:

"The Congregationalists have a Bohemian Church, Bethlehem, at Thirteenth and Allen. As the second generation grows up, this church is gradually becoming English. There are about seventy members. Armenian services, mostly on the east side of the river, are maintained by the same denomination, with visitation work in St. Louis, and a coffee-house in Granite City. They also have a German and a Swedish Church.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has a large German work, with a conference of its own; a Swedish Church, and in Union Church, a Chinese Sunday School. This school is really interdenominational, as the teachers are from many denominations. The attendance is from twenty to twenty-five. Union Church has some thirty Chinamen on its rolls.

The Baptists have, in addition to the Italian Church, two German Churches, a Swedish Church, and Hungarian work under the direction of the pastor of their First German Church.

The German Evangelical Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church minister to their people with membership among the largest of any denominations in St. Louis. Many of them are in transitional state, because their work is gradually becoming English."<sup>4</sup>

Kingdom House, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, while it employs no foreign worker, and is chiefly concerned with the American families of the immediate neighborhood, has had forced upon it by reason of its location, increasing opportunities

4. Federation News, November, 1913, Vol. 4, p. 2.

for work among the foreigners along Chouteau Avenue. However, except through the evening dispensary for women and the calls of the visiting nurse, nothing has, as yet, been attempted for non-English speaking neighbors.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION.

The only organized settlement in the city, distinctly non-sectarian in origin, is Neighborhood Association, on Nineteenth Street, opposite the Franklin School. The residents of the district are chiefly Russian or Polish Jews and the natural ambition and mental alertness of these people has fostered greatly the original purpose of the settlement to "co-operate with the people of its neighborhood in the realization of their opportunities for a better community life."<sup>5</sup>

Over fifty-four clubs have flourished during the past year, with their headquarters at the Association, or at the Franklin School, which largely through the interest of the neighborhood, has been one of the most successful social centers in the city. Many other departments, such as the Baby Feeding Clinic, the Day Nursery, the Penny Savings Bank, the Juvenile Protective Committee and the Summer Rest Cottage introduce splendid constructive forces into the lives of the foreign-born. Add to these opportunities, the neighborly visiting of the nurse, and the various leaders. That Neighborhood Association has its place in the program of St. Louis immigrant assimilation cannot be questioned.

#### OTHER AGENCIES.

Further mention might be made of other agencies which from time to time deal with immigrant cases. These agencies are organized for general city work and have to date given no especial thought to the immigrant or his problems. For this reason it is felt that their statistical information would throw little valuable light on the general problem of immigrant assimilation.

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### CHAPTER X.

#### THE MULLANPHY FUND OF ST. LOUIS.

The preceding chapters emphasize the fact that St. Louis, as well as New York or Chicago, is facing definite problems of immigrant assimilation. So little attention has been paid to the alien population, that an immediate grasp of the situation would appear a hopeless task, if the cessation of direct immigration in August, 1914, had not offered an unexpected opportunity for the

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5. Third Annual Report of Neighborhood Association, p. 7.

study of assimilating machinery. Especially important then is the interest, which citizens have been centering on the disposition of an old city trust, known as the Mullanphy Emigrant Relief Fund, which was bequeathed to the City by a former mayor in the year 1851 to "furnish relief to all poor immigrants and travellers coming to St. Louis, on their way, bona fide, to settle in the West"<sup>1</sup>. A careful review of the history of this fund is necessary before this unusual opportunity, which the city has long ignored, can be fully appreciated.

### **Biography of John Mullanphy:**

In 1758, there was born in Ireland a certain John Mullanphy. His venturesome spirit led him to enlist in the famous Irish Brigade, that fought so valiantly in the French Revolution. Thoroughly imbued with the restlessness of revolutionary ideals, he subsequently emigrated with his wife and first child, to the United States. After brief residences in Philadelphia and Baltimore, John Mullanphy settled in Frankfort, Kentucky. There, he started a trading store, which soon became a great center. Here he met Charles Gratiot of St. Louis, who persuaded him that St. Louis was the proper place for a man of Mullanphy's business ability. Accordingly, he again moved, this time to St. Louis, where he opened a store on Second Street. Evidently, he did not find the atmosphere of the frontier town congenial, for, in 1809 he took his family back to Baltimore. During the War of 1812, Mullanphy bought a large supply of cotton, which had dropped to bottom prices because of war. It is said that the bales were put to use in defense of the New Orleans fort, and that when Mullanphy objected, General Jackson thrust a bayonet into his hand and told him to protect the cotton himself. After the war closed, Mullanphy sailed with this cargo for England. There, the cotton was sold at prices which created the foundation of his great fortune. He eventually returned to St. Louis, where he died in 1833, a citizen much beloved because of his many charitable deeds. John Darby said of him:

"In charitable deeds he never had a superior in the City of St. Louis, and his works will live after him as long as the Mississippi laves the shores of the city, where the institutions founded by him in the cause of charity and religion, shall stand."<sup>2</sup>

### **Bryan Mullanphy:**

Of the fifteen children born to John Mullanphy, only eight lived to maturity. The youngest, Bryan Mullanphy, was disinherited because of his reckless habits, and the great fortune was divided among the other seven children, all girls. Subsequently, the fond sisters redivided their apportionments and reinstated the young brother. Opinions vary as to the personal character of Bryan Mullanphy, but historical documents are unanimous in their comments on his generous heart, and today the city pays

1. Will of Bryan Mullanphy.

2. Documents in possession of the Mullanphy Board.

tribute to this family characteristic in the Mullanphy Hospital, the Mullanphy Playground, and the Mullanphy School. A living testimonial of the son's active interest in social problems is the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which he started in 1845. The following extract tells of his early life:

"Bryan Mullanphy was sent to Europe at the age of nine years for the purpose of obtaining a thorough education; and he fulfilled admirably, the admonitions of his parents. He pursued his primary studies in Paris, going thence to England, where he graduated with the highest honors in the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst. Returning to St. Louis in 1827, he pursued intently the study of the law, being admitted to practice before he was of legal age. As a member of the profession he was distinguished for every quality which constitutes a gentleman. He was almost invariably successful in the cases he advocated, and his manner at the Bar was guided by the greatest decorum, both to his opponents and to the Court. He had great veneration for a Court of Justice and never permitted himself to be carried away by undue excitement in presenting his arguments. He was the friend and advocate of the oppressed, never undertaking any case that would work a hardship to the defenseless poor.

His legal attainments and his varied knowledge, such knowledge as is of value to the student of the law, commanded the attention of his brethren of the legal profession and of the community, and in 1840 he was elevated to a Judgeship in the Court of Common Pleas, serving until 1844 with the greatest fidelity, and with honor to himself and to his profession. Few, if any, of his decisions were ever reversed in the Appellate Courts. His father, having died in 1833, he was elected to the positions in various financial institutions formerly held by his father. His eminent judicial record brought him prominently before the people and created in the minds of his fellow citizens the belief that he possessed administrative and executive ability of a high order, and in 1847 he was elected almost unanimously, Mayor of the City. His management of Municipal affairs has not been excelled by any of his successors, and many of the projects suggested by him afterwards found expression in the Ordinances enacted by the Assembly."<sup>3</sup>

### The Mullanphy Fund:

During his term as Mayor, Mullanphy was continually called upon to provide relief for the numerous immigrants journeying through St. Louis, on their way to settle in the new territory west of the Mississippi. The deplorable state of these families, exhausted by hardships of the trip, without money, in rags, and utterly friendless, made a deep impression, and probably inspired the great bequest of his life. After his death, there was offered on June 18, 1851, for probate, the following will of Bryan Mullanphy:

#### WILL OF BRYAN MULLANPHY.<sup>4</sup>

1. Bryan Mullanphy, do make and declare the following to be my last will and testament: One equal, undivided third of all my property, real, personal and mixed, I leave to the City of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, in trust, to be and to constitute a fund to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis on their way bona fide to settle in the West. I do appoint Felix Coste and Peter G. Camden, Executors of this, my last will and testament, and of any other will or executory devise that I may leave;

<sup>3</sup> Documents in possession of Mullanphy Board.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

all and any such documents will be found to be olograph, all in my own handwriting.

In testimony whereof, witness my hand and seal.

(Signed)

Bryan Mullanphy. (Seal)

Witnesses who have signed in the presence of the testator and each other and saw the testator sign in the presence of them and each of them.

(Signed)

Adolphus Wislizenus.

(Signed)

John Wolfe.

(Signed)

M. W. Warne.

(Signed)

D. August Schnabel.

The instrument was written on the first page of a sheet of letter paper, sealed with three wafers, and endorsed as follows: ST. LOUIS, AUGUST 31, 1849.

### Administration of Fund:

Although Bryan Mullanphy had no direct heirs, for he was never married, over nine years were spent in litigation by relatives who hoped to gain possession of the property willed to the city. The courts ruled in favor of the city in 1860, and since that date, the management of the fund has been in the hands of a Board of Commissioners appointed under the following ordinance:

"There is hereby constituted and established a Board of Commissioners to be styled the Board of Commissioners of the Mullanphy Emigrant and Relief Fund, which shall be composed of the Mayor of the City for the time being, and ten members one from each ward of the city, to be elected by the Board of Common Council, and who shall possess the same qualifications as members of the Common Council, provided that no member of the council shall at the same time be a member of said Board of Commissioners."

The appointment of these Commissioners throughout the years has perforce been political and the type of men has varied greatly, not so much in their business ability as in their fitness to administer a philanthropic bequest. Frequently public opinion expressed itself as dissatisfied with the methods employed. For instance, in 1873, an investigation was ordered by the City Council of all negotiations entered into from the very beginning. This investigating committee reported carelessness in the management, but no abuses. Criticisms still continued. People decided that the fund was not being used in such a way as to carry out the will of Bryan Mullanphy. The records show that the commissioners themselves were uncertain as to the correct interpretation. For a period of years, a home was maintained on Fourteenth Street called "The Mullanphy Immigrant Home". Here, stranded families were cared for until able to resume their journey. This home was closed in 1877 because the board felt that its use was being abused by worthless indigents, and that it failed to carry out Mullanphy's desire to help those "on their way bona fide".

Meanwhile, the value of the Mullanphy property increased so rapidly that the amount available for relief purposes repre-

5. Records, Mullanphy Commissioners, p. 3,134.

sented a small fortune. The original commissioners had provided that the secretary of the board meet all arriving boats and trains in order to assist needy cases. The first years, during which time there was such a heavy German immigration, several thousand cases were helped each year, but, with the cessation of river traffic and the change in the character of the traveling public, the record shows a steady decrease in the number of cases assisted. In 1895, the total number of cases aided was 387, a mere handful, when compared with earlier figures. Real estate transactions seem to have engrossed the entire attention of those in authority.

Civic dissatisfaction with this situation became open and intense. During the administration of Mayor Ziegenhein, an effort was made to divert the use of the fund and to erect a large hospital for charity patients only. The Supreme Court of the State decided against the request of the commissioners, stating that the main argument used by the board, that there were few cases in need of relief coming directly under the technical wording of the will, "bona fide on their way to settle in the West", was not valid in an era when the greatest tide of immigration known to the world was in full swing. Still the fund fell into further disuse, until, in 1913, only ninety-nine cases were recorded as receiving relief. Federal statistics placed the total number of entries to the United States during 1913 at 1,197,892. Of this great stream, 11,504 were destined for Missouri directly. Add to this the tendency to move from one locality to another in search of better industrial openings so strongly present in the recent immigrant population, and little doubt can remain as to the opportunities for the use of a fund "to furnish relief to all poor immigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis, on their way bona fide, to settle in the West".

It was felt by the Civic League and other advocates of the new City Charter passed in June, 1914, that this stream of human life, greater by far than the early German and Irish immigration, was daily bringing into Union Station people who, while unable to make known their wants, ignorant of customs, helpless and frightened, were in every way, just such people as Bryan Mullanphy desired to aid. They recognized that the old board of thirteen was a most unwieldy affair and induced the framers of the new charter to insert a clause which reduced the number of commissioners from thirteen to three. Today the fund is administered by three commissioners selected by the

the in the value of the Mullanphy property is following statement, which compares an early val- most recent inventory:

## COMPARATIVE ASSETS.

	Jan. 1, 1867.	Feb. 27, 1915.
Real Estate.....	\$571,832.87	\$898,902.66
Bills Receivable.....	28,041.48	.....
Cash.....	14,737.72	37,162.10
Rents Due.....	2,234.90	711.14
St. Louis Co. Bonds.....	17,000.00	.....
Office Fixtures.....	50.00	1,370.79
Automobile.....	.....	2,250.00
Total.....	\$633,896.97	\$940,396.69

The 33 per cent increase has been largely due, of course, to a general rise in real estate values, but it is also in part due to the business management of the various commissioners and the individual secretaries. The property is in better condition today than ever before. The item, "rents due", is a significant tribute to the efficiency of the present secretary, whose business methods have increased the proportion of property leased and the general condition of such property.

With an annual income of some \$38,000 to dispense, the new commissioners and the secretary set to work to study the needs of "travelers and immigrants", as presented by modern conditions of immigration and travel.

#### Establishment of Traveler's Aid Bureau

After carefully reviewing the work done in other cities by immigration bureaux and by the National Traveler's Aid Society, the present Mullanphy Commissioners came to the conclusion that the establishment in Union Station of a bureau for the assistance of immigrants and travelers would be well within the legal interpretations of the will, and the best possible way in which to meet the needs of the modern immigrant. On February 18, 1915, an ordinance passed the City Council, authorizing the establishment of such a municipal bureau. While the funds may not be used for the relief of any but those "on their way, bona fide, to settle in the West", the advisory service of the trained workers in the bureau are at the disposal of all travelers. Records kept in the bureau should enable social workers throughout the city to follow up local cases. Co-operation with such an agency should mean tremendous strides forward in the city's problem of immigrant assimilation. Knowledge of the name and nationality of practically every foreigner coming to the city, should make it possible for the immigrant to be brought into immediate touch with night schools, libraries, settlements and the church of his homeland. At the station, the services of workers able to advise and direct in the language of the stranger has added possibilities in its protection of girls traveling alone, in its exposure of the bogus labor agent, shell men and other frauds, so commonly found in the vicinity of a big terminal.



This efficient program, coupled with the deep interest evidenced by the Board in the project, and the desire on the part of the social agencies throughout the city to co-operate, is one of the two great constructive forces presented by the existence of this trust which challenges St. Louis to consider the problem of immigrant assimilation.

### **Model Tenement Property:**

The second constructive force seems to have escaped the attention of the public. People who have not complained that the fund was not being used to properly succor destitute cases, have bitterly denounced the failure of the fund to consider immigrants and travelers destined for St. Louis proper, as legally subject to assistance. The item of repairs which appears regularly in all reports, has incensed both groups of critics. To be true, this item of repairs has, in past years, far exceeded the actual expenditures for relief, but the full significance of the word "repairs" has never been appreciated.

Chapter Three of this report pictured the housing conditions of the immigrant in St. Louis, and showed clearly the degrading surroundings under which many families are living, for which the landlord was originally responsible, and which the best efforts of the housewife could never rectify. Much of the Mullanphy property is in those congested districts, and the item of repairs deserves but one interpretation—model tenement equipment. Whole rows of houses along Cass Avenue and O'Fallon Street have been renovated; outside privies abolished, the courts cemented, and running water placed on every floor. Mullanphy tenants know that with the spring will come a thorough refreshing of calcimine and paint, if the property needs it. Furthermore, the one "model" tenement of the city, built after the plan of the Phipps House in New York City, is operated by this fund. The "Mullanphy Apartments" at 2118 Mullanphy Street accommodate thirty-six families in two, three and four-room suites. Steam-heated throughout, lighted by electricity, each apartment has only outside rooms. Toilets adjoin each suite, but the bathing facilities, a combination of tubs and showers, are in the basement. Here, also, are the laundries, equipped with stoves and up-to-date drying shelves. For their heating, no charge is made. The rents for such advantages, plus competent janitor service in winter are \$14 to \$21 per month, for two and four-room apartments, respectively. In summer, a sliding scale reduces these rents to \$12 and \$19.

Not all of the property is in the condition just described. Part of it is held under long leases signed by previous boards, with the understanding that the lessee make his own improvements. Much of this property is in bad condition. The present Commissioners are anxious to terminate such leases where possible, in order that similar occurrences may be prevented in the future. In May and June of 1915, contracts totaling \$12,169 were let for the remodelling of dilapidated tenement property in the Italian neighborhood. This expenditure will be recorded as

"Building Contracts" and it behooves all persons interested in the improvement of city housing to assume the responsibility of explaining to the objecting citizen, what the presence of well-kept tenement property can mean in the lives of people, who have, perforce, endured the squalor of the average St. Louis tenement.

While the legal interpretation of the term "on their way, bona fide, to settle in the West", prohibits material assistance to immigrants or travelers coming into St. Louis, indirectly the upkeep of these various pieces of property belonging to the trust, materially affects the welfare of a local group of people of different nationalities. A glance at the list of tenants gives striking evidence of the fact that 45 per cent are of foreign birth.

TABLE XXX, NATIONALITY BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MULLANPHY PROPERTY TENANTS, MAY, 1915.

Austria .....	1
England .....	1
Germany .....	15
Ireland .....	13
Poland .....	8
Italy .....	18
Roumania .....	2
Russian .....	24
U. S. A. ....	102
Total .....	184

Most of the property occupied by native American or German tenants is in the county and South St. Louis. The Irish are living, however, in the Italian and Polish neighborhoods and the secretary explains their presence by the fact that they have been tenants for many years, and even now, when foreigners are moving into the poorer houses in the district, the improvement of the Mullanphy property has kept the original tenants satisfied to a surprising extent. The Italians live in the Seventh and Eighth Street property which is being renovated, and the Poles, along O'Fallon Street. The Russians are all Russian Jews who have quickly recognized the benefits to be derived from such a philanthropic landlord.

In the Mullanphy fund, St. Louis possesses a unique charity. A search for bequests peculiarly suited for civic betterment would disclose few cities provided with so comprehensive a means of safe-guarding the potentialities of citizenship. To welcome all newcomers who enter the city through the great portal of a railroad station; to direct strangers to respectable lodgings or to trustworthy employment agencies; to give friendly advice and prevent the exploitation of the unsuspecting, are all within the power of the station bureau.

Finally the very income that makes possible such a "bureau of hospitality", arises from an investment, which in itself is a civic asset. The Mullanphy Model Tenement property wherever it is found in the congested districts stands as an example to other property holders. Competition often succeeds where philanthropy is laughed at, and clean paint, good plumbing, an abundance of water and sunlight, coupled with a moderate

rent, have a practical argument for success answerable only in like kind.

The responsibility of continuing these two civic assets devolves upon the board of administration, to be sure, but also upon the force of public opinion which must insist upon the careful appointment of all future commissioners, and follow the program of work outlined by each new board with full determination that all steps taken shall be ahead in the direction of a truly "forward St. Louis".

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE SUMMARY.

This report seeks to give the citizens of St. Louis a foundation of fact upon which they may build their program for better immigrant assimilation. The summary desires only to again briefly emphasize certain lines of amelioration that are the city's immediate responsibility. The conclusion of today is but the shifting sand under tomorrow's broader vision. Thus it is to be hoped that final conclusions will be independent, the expression of a conviction that will mean a constructive step forward towards that civic goal so beautifully proclaimed by the Pageant Hosts in their prophecy for the future of "St. Louis, the Fourth City".

"Out of the formless void  
Beauty and order are born,  
One for the all, all in one,  
We wheel in the joy of our dance,

Brother with brother,  
Sharing our light,  
Build we new worlds  
With ancient fire!"

The following suggestions are made regarding:

**I. Arrival of Immigrants:**

- That 1. City authority insist upon the Terminal Association's complete co-operation in the work of the Mullanphy Traveler's Aid Bureau.
2. Social and Civic Agencies make more use of the Mullanphy Bureau.
  3. Each agency make a study of its constructive relation to the arriving immigrant.

**II. Housing of the Immigrant in St. Louis:**

- That 1. The present housing code be more rigidly enforced.
2. The appointment be made of a definite Housing Commission responsible for the enforcement.
  3. Interest of landlord be aroused in the upkeep of tenement property.
  4. All possible means of educating the immigrants in the responsibilities of good tenants be inaugurated by: Public Schools, Municipal Nurses, Settlements, Women Rent Collectors.
  5. Dilapidated property be condemned.

**III. Occupations of Immigrant in St. Louis:**

- That 1. The State Bureau of Labor be apportioned a budget which would make possible the employment of agents speaking the necessary foreign languages.
2. These men by moving through the various lodging houses in the city and construction camps in the State, prevent much of the exploitation which now exists.
  3. The present employment law be thoroughly revised.
  4. Organized effort be made to have the State Factory Inspector's Office sufficiently manned.
  5. In addition to an increased staff of male inspectors, there be women inspectors employed who speak foreign languages and are cognizant of abuses peculiar to the employment of immigrant women.
  6. Through the Business Men's League interest be aroused among employers for the education of the foreign-born employes.

**IV. Education of the Immigrant:**

- That 1. Attendance at night school be required of illiterate minors between 14 and 21.
2. Methods employed in the night school work for foreigners be thoroughly revised so as to include:
    - (a) Training class for teachers.
    - (b) Increase in number of teachers.
    - (c) Class differentiation according to sex, age, nationality.
  3. A complete citizenship course be required of all male pupils.
  4. Classes be opened in neighborhoods where there are no night schools:
    - (a) Settlements.
    - (b) Churches.
    - (c) Clubs.
  5. Work of social centers be extended in foreign communities.
  6. The Parochial Schools seek to standardize their work further, emphasizing:
    - (a) Cultural benefit of second language.
    - (b) Industrial training for boys and girls.
    - (c) Education of adult immigrant.
  7. The equipment of the smaller parochial schools be subsidized and brought up to date.
  8. The Young Women's Christian Association begin educational and recreational work for the immigrant girl, along lines already started by the Young Men's Christian Association for men.

**V. Naturalization:**

- That 1. The present authorization of the Public Schools and the Young Men's Christian Association as distributors of naturalization papers be extended.
2. The holding of Saturday afternoon and evening sessions in the Court of Naturalization be established.
  3. All candidates for naturalization be required to complete the course in citizenship as offered by public schools or Young Men's Christian Association.
  4. The certificates of naturalization be presented formally and with a ceremony calculated to impress the new citizen with his responsibilities to the city and the nation to which he swears allegiance.

**VI. The Immigrant in Corrective Institutions:**

- That 1. More careful records be kept of nationality.
2. Workers be employed qualified to interpret and talk with non-English speaking cases.

**VII. The Immigrant and Relief Agencies:**

- That 1. Workers be employed qualified to interpret the needs of the immigrant and the methods of the agency.
2. A more definite understanding and a closer co-operation be inaugurated between the St. Vincent de Paul and other relief agencies, so that the actual field of relief work could be fully covered yet in no wise duplicated.

**VIII. The Immigrant and the Church:**

- That 1. A definite survey be made of the opportunities for church work in the foreign communities.
2. Through an organization such as the Church Federation a denominational apportionment be made in such a way as to prevent duplication or scattered work.
3. A closer supervision of the bi-lingual Catholic churches be maintained by the church as a whole, with the idea of making the English language and American customs the dominating factors.
4. There be established closer relations between the foreign-born priest and
1. The other clergy.
  2. The city institutions.
  3. Civic interests.

**IX. The Mullanphy Fund:**

- That 1. A court proceeding be instituted whereby an interpretation of Bryan Mullanphy's will may be secured, permitting a wider application of the funds for constructive immigration work.
2. Information concerning the immigrant in the city and state be gathered through a department of research.
3. Through same department a study be made of methods of assimilation used throughout the country.
4. A system of publicity be inaugurated whereby the knowledge of good housing be disseminated.
5. Socially trained rent collectors be employed in the model tenements who are able to speak the language of the foreign tenant.

**X. Immigration Committee:**

- That: An Immigration Committee be organized for the definite purpose of carrying out a program of Americanization and assimilation which shall incorporate every opportunity which the City of St. Louis has to offer the alien resident.



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# The Immigrant in St. Louis

BY

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ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

1916

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